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The Beginning of the 'Natural Day' in the late 14th Century

BY LEONARD C. HECTOR

A WELL-KNOWN example of the fondness of Roger of Wendover for miraculous stories assisting the cause of religion is the passage in which he tells how in the year 1200 a letter from Heaven was found suspended over St. Simeon's altar at Jerusalem. It contained a divine injunction, backed by a menacing catalogue of the consequences of disobedience, that Sunday, which was not being properly observed, was to be strictly kept *ab hora nona sabbati usque ad solem surgentem diei Lunae*. Among the preachers appointed in due course by the pope to convey this message to the world was Eustace, abbot of St. Germer de Flay, whose mission brought him to England. Wendover's account of the abbot's doings and sayings in this country includes the statement that the man of God *diem sabbati post nonam sicut diem Dominicum ab omni opere servili custodiri mandavit, et deinceps diem Dominicum cum nocte sequente, qui dies dicitur naturalis*.¹

Whether the concluding words of this quotation imply that the 'natural day'² was regularly conceived in Wendover's time as beginning and ending with sunrise, and, if so, how far they reflect contemporary practice in the matter of dating, are debatable questions. The words may be those of the French preacher or of his English reporter: their chief purpose seems in either case to be to gloss the divine command that the observance of Sunday was to continue until dawn on Monday. The importance attached to the Wendover passage by students of chronology is perhaps not unfairly indicated by its mention to qualify a footnote in the Royal Historical Society's admirable *Handbook of Dates*,³ where it is observed that there is evidence to suggest that for purposes of dating in the early Middle Ages the day began with sunset, and that the liturgical observance of a feast might indubitably begin before sunrise.

A supplementary qualification to the footnote might be based on the story of a case of formedon in the descender heard in the Common Pleas in Hilary term, 1387. The circumstances of this case seem worth relating in some detail not only for the light they throw on medieval methods of reckoning time but for the glimpse they afford of the steps a litigant could take to obtain from the Chancery the original writ by which his action was commenced. The Year Book report⁴ and the formal record in the rolls of the court,⁵ which agree in essentials, have both been drawn upon for the following account.

The action was brought by Hugh Bronage and Mary his wife against John Cosyn, vicar of Harringworth, and Nicholas Burdeus, chaplain. By their writ of formedon in the descender they claimed certain property in Deene and Deenethorpe in Northamptonshire which had been given to Sir Henry de Deen for his life, with remainder to his son Henry and the younger Henry's wife Katherine and the heirs of their bodies, and which now ought to descend 'by the form of the gift' to Mary Bronage as daughter and heir of the younger Henry and Katherine.

On behalf of the defendants Serjeant Thirning 'prayed oyer' of the original writ, which was accordingly read; whereupon he pointed out that it was dated 16 April 8 Richard II [1385] and that it contained the words *et que, post mortem predictorum Henrici de Deen Henrici filii Henrici et Katherine, prefate Marie filie et heredi eorundem Henrici filii Henrici et Katherine descendere debent*. These words, he said, presumed that the younger Henry and Katherine were both dead on 16 April, whereas Katherine was alive throughout the whole of that day—a contention which he subsequently amplified by declaring that she was alive 'from sunrise on 16 April until sunset of the same day and likewise until midnight then following and for three hours beyond midnight'. This meant that she was alive on the day following that on which the writ was dated; the writ ought not therefore by the law of the land to be maintained; and he asked the court to rule that it should be quashed.

¹ *Flores Historiarum* (R.S.), i, pp. 295-9.

² Defined by Chaucer (*Astr.* ii, 7) as '24 hours' and by later writers as the duration of an entire apparent revolution of the sun about the earth.

³ p. 9.

⁴ Y.B. 10 Richard II, Hilary, Pl. 8 (Lincoln's Inn Library, Hale MSS., No. 77, fo. 271v). I have not found the case printed in any of the abridgements in the Public Record Office Library.

⁵ De Banco Roll, Hilary, 10 Richard II (C.P.40/504), rot. 117.

On the other side Serjeant Clopton argued that by the 'common course' the natural day is to be reckoned from sunrise through the ensuing 24 hours to the next sunrise; 'and besides, the Chancery people will not make any other writ than one which comprises the date of the day as a whole' (*ceux del Chauncellerie ne voillent faire autre bref si noun comprenaunt la date de tout le jour*). This second point is made in a somewhat different form in the record: 'by the course of the Chancery no writ will bear date on a night (*de nocte*) but on a day (*de die*) even though it may be sealed during the night'. But the sense intended in both sources seems clearly to be that the Chancery would not supply a writ which showed at what hour of the twenty-four it was sealed. Katherine, said Clopton, was dead before sunrise of the day following 16 April, so that the writ, as dated, ought by the law of the land to be maintained, and he asked the court to decide that it was good. If it were quashed, a new writ would involve delay⁶ and the risk of permanent disinheritance for his clients, since on 16 April, when Katherine was *in articulo mortis*, the defendants had fraudulently and collusively alienated the property to persons unknown with the object of depriving the plaintiffs of their action concerning it.

The request of both parties for the decision of the court on a point of law constituted a 'demurrer in judgement': each side, while expressly withholding acknowledgement of the facts adduced by the other, refrained from expressly contradicting them. The facts alleged positively about the events of the critical period are not, indeed, incompatible. It is even possible that the plaintiffs moved very swiftly to secure their writ after Katherine was dead. This, according to Thirning, was not until about 3 a.m.; and on 17 April by the 14th-century calendar the sun rose at Westminster at about 4.45. The messenger can hardly have had far to go, but unless the medieval civil servant kept unconscionably early hours very little time can have been lost over the procedure (whatever it was) necessary for obtaining the writ. The writ itself survives in the Public Record Office,⁷ having been returned in the Common Pleas by the sheriff of Northamptonshire at the Quinzaine of Trinity [25 June], 1385. Unless erasure and re-writing in two places can be held to point to sleepiness on the part of the clerk, the modern reader is no better placed than the medieval court to deduce from it the hour at which it was written. The bottom right-hand corner, ordinarily occupied in an original writ of this date by the name of the cursor who wrote it or that of the Chancery Master who was formally responsible for it,⁸ is inscribed 'J. Ravenser'. In this respect it is by no means unique: John Ravenser was at this time Keeper or Clerk of the Hanaper, and the inference is that the Bronages' messenger dealt with Ravenser's deputy or assistant, who may perhaps have lived in or near the *domus* within the Palace of Westminster used by the Hanaper Office to store parchment, wax, and other necessities, and to heat the wax for the Great Seal.⁹ Unlike his predecessor Richard Ravenser (surmised by Foss to have been his brother), John Ravenser did not combine the office of Keeper of the Hanaper with that of a 'greater clerk' of the Chancery;¹⁰ and the docket on the back of the Bronages' writ reads: *Per Johannem de Waltham¹¹ ad instanciam Roberti Bealknapp*. In a short search I have seen no other example of an original writ issued at the instance of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, but what the last four words of the docket may imply in the way of special circumstances or special influence is a question I am unable to answer.

At first sight Clopton's arguments might seem to suggest that for purposes of dating the practice of the 14th-century Chancery was to reckon the day from dawn to dawn. But if this was notoriously so, there would have been no room for Thirning's objection that the writ antedated Katherine's death. Clopton's concern was to show that there was a permissible system of dating under which his clients' writ could be held good, and to leave it to be presumed that that system had been used to

⁶ Not in obtaining the writ, which, on Clopton's own showing, could be effected at remarkably short notice, but in getting the defendants into court and ready to plead, which in the present case had taken nearly two years.

⁷ In the Common Pleas class of Writs (C.P. 52), under arrangement.

⁸ See Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Great Seal*, p. 14. By way of amplification of what is said there it should be explained that at this date it was not unusual for only the Master's name to appear both on the front and on the back of writs *de cursu*.

⁹ This building was destroyed by an accidental fire before 2 November 1386. See *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1385-9*, p. 191, and Maxwell-Lyte, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 283.

¹⁰ See Maxwell-Lyte, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹¹ At this time Master of the Rolls; later Keeper of the Privy Seal.

date it.¹² Thirning, for his part, contended that the date changed at midnight. But neither side claimed that the system it championed was that followed in the Chancery. This may mean only that the problem was a new one: it is on *a priori* grounds unlikely that the Chancery was often called upon to issue common-law writs between midnight and dawn, and still more unlikely that, when it was, any material question turned on their dating. There is, however, a bare possibility—it is no more—that practice varied within the Chancery itself, some clerks favouring the ‘common course’ advocated by Clopton, others the more modern view advanced by Thirning.

Faced by the task of deciding, in effect, at what hour the day legally began in England, the court reserved its judgement and went on doing so in a succession of adjournments for the next four years, in the course of which the composition of the Bench was entirely transformed by the upheaval of 1388 and both Thirning and Clopton themselves became judges. The record ends with the question before the court still unanswered and the parties ‘given a day to hear judgement’ at the Quinzaine of Trinity, 1391. However much the absence of a decision may be deplored, there is some significance in the fact that the problem could be posed at all in 1387 and perhaps even more in the reluctance of the court to answer it. The possible bearing of this case on differences of one day in dates given in parallel sources needs no elaboration.

In one minor respect *Bronage v. Cosyn and Burdeus* forms a very apt tailpiece to the Wendover story with which this article opened. The 16th of April 1385 was a Sunday.

¹² It is difficult to resist the suspicion that the plaintiffs, anxious to counter the defendants’ ‘fraudulent alienation’ of 16 April (when Katherine was already *in articulo mortis*) obtained their writ several hours before she actually died; and that the time of her death obliged them to argue that their writ spoke from any appropriate hour of the twenty-four beginning at dawn on 16 April.

The pre-Union Records of the Scottish Exchequer

BY ATHOL L. MURRAY, M.A., LL.B.

I

THE RECORDS of the Scottish Exchequer do not form a continuous series. Since the structure of the financial administration was altered several times, any account of the records must be based on a study of its development. As the most complete change took place just after the Union of 1707, the present article is confined to the records prior to that date. It will give an account of their vicissitudes since the Union, a note on record publications and a brief examination of the records in reference to the development of the Exchequer and financial departments.

The Act of Parliament, 6 Anne c. 26, which came into force in May 1708, implemented the provision of article 19 of the Treaty of Union “that there be a Court of Exchequer in Scotland after the Union for deciding questions concerning the revenue of Customs and Excises there, having the same power and authority in such cases as the Court of Exchequer has in England”. This reorganisation affected the fiscal and administrative as well as the judicial functions of the Exchequer, all of which had to conform as closely as circumstances would allow to the English model. The Act not only gave the Scottish Exchequer its Chief Baron and Barons, but also divided its work among the four main offices of King’s Remembrancer, Lord Treasurer’s Remembrancer, Auditor and the Pipe, each office having its own staff of clerks. Nothing was said of the Clerk-Register, whose commission constituted him Clerk of Exchequer and who had hitherto appointed the subordinate clerks in that department. But when the Duke of Montrose presented his commission as Clerk-Register for recording in Exchequer on 25 July 1716, it appeared to the Barons that “clauses are inserted which are in some measure contrary to and inconsistent with the Act of Parliament that constitutes the Court of Exchequer here”, and accordingly it was recorded “without any prejudice to any of the officers or clerks belonging to the Court of Exchequer”.¹ It was clear, therefore, that the Clerk-Register had

¹ K.R. Office. Orders, Vol. 1, 111; Treasury Min. Bk., Vol. 1, 236. Except where stated otherwise all MSS. referred to are in the Scottish Record Office.

no powers or functions in respect of the new Court of Exchequer and its records. The position of the pre-Union records was quite obscure. Most, but not all of those dating from before 1660 were in the Clerk-Register's custody, while the post-Restoration records and some pre-Restoration records were kept by the King's Remembrancer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer and Auditor respectively, according to the use which could be made of them. If anything, they were an embarrassment, for as the Deputy Auditor wrote of the medieval Exchequer rolls in his custody, "to put them in any kind of order would be attended with much expence, time and trouble, which it is humbly presumed may be saved as they are of no sort of use now whatever unless to such as are curious in antiquity".²

Throughout the eighteenth century the Clerk-Register lacked equally any interest in acquiring these records and room to house them. Accommodation became available with the building of Register House, in which the Treasury in 1792 allotted rooms for Exchequer records. Some were moved there, but as yet they were not in the Clerk-Register's custody. Thomas Thomson, appointed Deputy Clerk-Register in 1806, conceiving "that the duties of superintendence and controul attached to the Office of Deputy Clerk Register, must be held to extend to this Department of the Publick Records of Scotland, although now withdrawn more than formerly from the direct interference of the Lord Clerk Register", undertook to "embrace the earliest opportunities of making myself acquainted with whatever concerns their formation, custody and preservation". He drew the Clerk-Register's attention to the records of the old Exchequer. "I have reason to believe, that on an Application to the Barons of Exchequer, in your Lordship's Name, an Order will be granted for the immediate Transmission of all these Records. Some of them I know to be of great Importance to the Illustration of Scottish Constitutional History; and their Value in that respect cannot fail to be increased, by restoring them to their proper place among the Publick Records of the Kingdom".³ Accordingly in June 1808, a memorial to that effect was presented to the Barons, but the officers of Exchequer were reluctant to part with their records, although the Deputy-Auditor commented that in 32 years service he "never once had occasion to have recourse to them" and that he conceived it "immaterial whether they lie in the Exchequer or in the general Register". Accordingly, on the Barons' instructions the Deputy King's Remembrancer notified the Clerk-Register of the rejection of the memorial, on the grounds that "it would be attended with the greatest inconvenience if the Records, however ancient, were placed in the custody of any person except the existing officers of this Court".⁴ This attitude was not wholly obscurantist since some of the Exchequer officials, notably the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, had to search through early records for information and precedents, but in the circumstances, it was perhaps a little offensive to point out that the records could equally well be re-united by the Clerk-Register transferring those in his custody to the Exchequer rooms in Register House, in which case the Barons might make arrangements for sorting and indexing.⁵ The Exchequer was soon to move into new quarters in Parliament Square where the records would be "equally well secured from all risque of fire as if they were deposited in the General Register House".

A little over two years elapsed after the rejection of Thomson's scheme. Then, early in the morning of Sunday, 10 November, 1811, fire broke out in the new Exchequer buildings "in a dark closet near the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's and Auditor's offices". It was confined to the back part of the building, where the two upper storeys were burnt out. By the time it had been extinguished at 7 a.m., it had destroyed the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office and the rooms above "in which were kept some papers" and damaged the Auditor's Office and the Treasury Chambers. The Deputy King's Remembrancer and other officials were able to remove most of their records to safety in the aisle of St. Giles Kirk, while the records and papers of the Auditor's Office were also rescued from the flames. All were later removed to temporary storage in the premises of the Bank of Scotland until the building was repaired.⁶

² Draft return to Committee on Public Records, 1800.

³ *First Annual Report of the Deputy Clerk Register of Scotland, 1807*, 8, App. 45.

⁴ K.R. Off. Letter Bk., Vol. 8, 195-221.

⁵ Thomson commented that until the officers of Exchequer produced an inventory "It will be impossible to state on what terms, and by what reciprocal concessions, a reasonable and expedient arrangement can be made". *Third Annual Report*, 9.

⁶ Treasury Min. Bk., Vol. 14, 344; Letter Bk., Vol. 12, 176.

The Barons met on 11 November to consider the effects of the fire and notified the Treasury that "we have the satisfaction to state that the most important records and papers are saved". But Adam Longmore, an Exchequer official, wrote in quite different terms to Thomas Thomson, "to acquaint him that he early this morning collected the few remains of the books and papers that were yesterday saved from the flames and sent them over to the apartment in the Register House which is allotted to the Auditor of this Court. Mr. Longmore will now be happy to have the assistance of the people usually employed by Mr. Thomson which he yesterday so politely offered and he has no doubt that every thing possible will be preserved. Mr. Longmore has taken special care to have the whole rubbish which was cast down from the upper rooms examined and every piece of paper and parchment that has or can be laid hold of will be sent over".⁷

It is quite impossible to guess at the extent of the loss and damage caused by the fire of 1811. "A considerable number of Volumes, partly burnt, and all of them drenched with water, were brought to the apartments in the General Register House, and carefully dried and examined, preparatory to their being repaired and rebound."⁸ It seems likely that the Exchequer Registers for the years 1661-1708 perished, along with many rolls of sheriffs accounts which were in the custody of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. Fortunately the Exchequer escaped the great fire of 15-16 November 1824, which destroyed all the buildings from the Tron Kirk to Parliament Square, but certain records were removed from the King's Remembrancer's Office as a precaution.⁹

Between 1830 and 1856 the Exchequer was re-organised once more under various statutes, resulting in the loss of its judicial functions and of many of its financial and administrative powers and the concentration of the remainder in one office, that of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. In consequence, there was no further need for the pre-Union records as well as for many post-Union records. Most of the remaining Exchequer rolls were transmitted to Register House in 1846¹⁰ and there were several subsequent transmissions of all types of records, which the staff of Register House were then able to arrange and catalogue. The section "Crown Patrimony and Revenue, Exchequer and Treasury" occupies nearly one quarter of Livingstone's *Guide to the Public Records of Scotland* (1905). This work, though valuable, suffers from the defective classification employed at the time, whereby, to take one example, records relating to the crown revenue from former church lands were described as "ecclesiastical". A more serious drawback, however, has proved to be that nearly all classes of records were incomplete. There were two reasons for this, the first being that successive transmissions still failed to exhaust the supply of pre-Union records remaining in Exchequer and the second, that pre-Union and post-Union records transmitted were inextricably mixed together, presenting a problem of sorting with which the small staff at Register House could not cope. Piecemeal attempts to deal with the problem having succeeded only in adding to the confusion, it was decided to attack the whole mass and in the summer of 1958 both types of records were sorted into their main classes. As the removal of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer from the old Exchequer buildings in Parliament Square was then imminent, the opportunity was taken to make a thorough search for all records remaining in his custody of date earlier than 1860. Among those transmitted to the Scottish Record Office in December 1958 were a number of pre-Union items. One may hope therefore that, at last, the records of the old Scottish Exchequer are now safely gathered into Register House. There still remains the long and laborious task of fitting all the recently discovered material into its proper place. This work is proceeding steadily and the opportunity is being taken to correct any errors and omissions in the existing arrangement of the records.

II

Thomas Thomson found the early Exchequer rolls "in a state of great disorder, and independently of more irreparable injuries, sometimes almost illegible from the dust with which they were encrusted".¹¹ But he saw their unique value as a record of medieval Scotland. As early as 1810, he was

⁷ *Ibid.*, 123, 124.

⁸ *Fifth Annual Report*, App. 18.

⁹ Treasury Min. Bk., Vol. 23, 447.

¹⁰ *Sixteenth Report of Deputy Clerk Register*, 3.

¹¹ *Fifth Annual Report*, App. p. 10.

drawing attention to the need for printing at least a selection of material from them, and by 1817, the text of three volumes of *The Accounts of Great Chamberlains of Scotland* was in print. Partly owing to lack of official support, the sheets of these volumes lay for over twenty years. In 1841 the first two volumes were issued to the members of the Bannatyne Club, followed in 1845 by an augmented third volume. A short introduction to the publication mentioned that "within the last few years there has been found among the neglected treasures of the old Exchequer a large additional mass of public accounts". In consequence this edition was later superseded by the full official publication, beginning in 1878, of the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. Fortunately Thomson's beloved record type had fallen out of fashion and the editors provided a clear text, generally accurate and with repetitive matter carefully abridged. George Burnet, Lyon King of Arms, joint-editor of Volume 1, published another eleven volumes before his death in 1890 and left volumes 13 and 14 well advanced. G. P. McNeill, an advocate, had completed volumes 15 to 20 by 1899, but thereafter publication flagged and with volume 23 in 1908, bringing the series down to 1600, it lapsed altogether. The scheme of publication also included the printing of the Crown rentals (*Rentalia Domini Regis*) and the Responde Books (*Libri Responsum*) as appendices to volumes 9-23.¹² It is unlikely, and probably undesirable, that the later rolls, which are very formal, should be printed, but additional early rolls which have come to light in recent years and certain other records might provide material for a supplementary volume.

The first volume of the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (1473-98), edited by Dr. Thomas Dickson, Curator of the Historical Department of Register House, appeared in 1877 but had no successor until 1900, when the series was resumed with Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, as editor. By 1916 when publication was stopped by the war, eleven volumes had appeared, bringing the record down to 1566. Publication may be resumed, though the accounts are almost too lengthy to print in full and extremely difficult to calendar or abridge. It is to be regretted that the late editor decided to omit altogether passages which he considered to be of little interest.

Though scholars have every reason to be grateful to Thomas Thomson and the later editors, it is unfortunate that none of them made any serious attempt to study the organisation of the Exchequer and the workings of royal finance. It is usual to refer to Dickson's preface to the first volume of the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* as authoritative, but it owes this less to any intrinsic merit of its own, than to the absence of anything else bearing on the subject. In fact out of 270 pages, Dickson devoted only 24 to dealing with the Exchequer and related topics, the development of the office of Treasurer and list of its holders up to 1512 and a description of the MS. Treasurer's accounts. The editors of the Exchequer rolls sometimes gave up short sections of their introductions to various aspects of financial administration, but not in any systematic or satisfactory manner.

The fault, of course, lay not in the editors' scholarship but in their approach to the records, which was best expressed by Thomas Thomson: "In truth it is chiefly in these Records that we must seek for all that can be known with certainty of the territorial produce, the domestic industry, the trade, the public revenue, the civil and military establishments, the modes of life, the food, the dress, and even the amusements of the people of Scotland, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; and, in a more indirect and incidental manner, they would be found no less useful in ascertaining and verifying innumerable details in the political history of the Kingdom, which remain at present vague and uncertain, or as to which the received statements are confused and inaccurate".¹³ Thus, while occasionally digressing into absolute trivialities, the editors were mainly concerned with illustrating general history from the financial records. In this they were no better and no worse than their English contemporaries, but a study of the administrative system and the manner of framing the accounts should have been a preliminary to any such use of the material.

The editors themselves lacked any source of information, other than the records, on the organisation of the Scottish Exchequer. In 1681, Sir William Purves of Woodhouselee, Charles II's Solicitor General, drew up a complete rental of the crown lands and other hereditary sources of income in

¹² The nature of these records is described later in this article.

¹³ *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 38.

¹⁴ There are several MS. copies of Purves's rentals of 1667 and 1681 in the Scottish Record Office and the National Library of Scotland. A MS. of the 1681 rental in the British Museum was printed in 1897. *Revenue of the Scottish Crown, 1681*, ed. D. Murray Rose.

Scotland, prefacing it with some observations on the royal revenues.¹⁴ The only published work on the Exchequer itself, Clerk and Scrope's *Historical View of the forms and powers of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland*,¹⁵ was written some fifteen or twenty years after the establishment of the new court in 1708. Baron Sir John Clerk of Penicuik and his collaborator, Baron Scrope, were both judges of that court and their main interest lay in its procedure and practice. Clerk's chapter on the pre-Union Exchequer consists of citations of statutes with a brief linking narrative.

He did not realise that for the greater part of its existence the old Exchequer was not a permanent body or institution. Thus he could assert that "A Court of Exchequer in Scotland may in some respects be said to be as ancient as the Crown itself; for as the Crown could not subsist without proper revenues, so these could not be managed without certain overseers who in time came to be called the Lords Auditors of Checker".¹⁶ This statement is only true in the most general terms and certainly not in the sense in which Clerk intended it, for even until James VI's reign, the Auditors of Exchequer were an *ad hoc* body, specially commissioned by the King to audit the accounts of his revenue. The Treasury accounts continued to be audited by such bodies until they were brought finally to an end by the Union. Once the audit had been completed, the commission expired and the Exchequer simply ceased to exist until the next audit.

Unlike Clerk, Thomson and later editors understood the impermanent nature of the Exchequer. They did not, however, appreciate all its consequences, particularly with regard to the records. Because the Exchequer was not a permanent institution, the Clerk-Register kept its records, not because he was Clerk of Exchequer, but because from one audit to the next the "Register" provided the only possible storage for them. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century the Exchequer was often itinerant, moving from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, Stirling and elsewhere during the course of the audit, accompanied on its travels by cart-loads of old rolls.¹⁷ At the conclusion of the Exchequer its temporary staff of clerks returned to their normal duties in chancery and other offices and the rolls were restored to their usual repository in Edinburgh Castle. When at last the Exchequer became a permanent body, with a full-time staff, its clerks were still subject to the control of the Clerk-Register, who appointed them as his deputies.¹⁸ They kept its current records, as well as such of the older rolls and registers as they required for frequent consultation, but he remained the legal custodian of all its archives. Thus a royal letter of 1664, commending William Law, a former clerk, narrated that "while hee lived, he was at great paines and charges in preserving from the violence of the late usurpers the public registers, ancient and late, of our Exchequer of our said kingdome of Scotland; and that since his death, by the faithfull care of Mr. William Sharp, now husband to the executrix of the said William Law, they have beine so still preserved and now delivered in good condition to our Clerk of Register".¹⁹ Presumably, the Clerk Register added these volumes to the Exchequer archives in his own custody. In any case, this was the last transmission of records to him and those remaining in the hands of the clerks were taken over by the officers of the new Exchequer in 1708, thus perpetuating a division in the records which was to last for another 250 years.

III

In discussing the records of the Exchequer, it is convenient to make a division between the seventeenth century records and those of an earlier date. Any account of the latter must take into consideration the work of Sir John Skene, who held office as Clerk-Register from 1594 to 1612. His legal dictionary, *De Verborum Significatione*, printed in 1597, contains references to the Exchequer and related topics. A few years later he drew up for James I and VI some "Proposals anent the order of the Checker", in which he suggested procedural reforms.²⁰ His most important work, however,

¹⁴ Printed in 1820 from a MS. copy in the King's Remembrancer's Office (now in the Scottish Record Office). The book was written almost entirely by Sir John Clerk, whose original MS. forms part of the Clerk of Penicuik Muniments in the Scottish Record Office (No. 2850).

¹⁵ *loc. cit.*, 96.

¹⁶ *Exchequer Rolls*, xii, 201.

¹⁷ K.R. Off., Index to Exchequer Register, 1661-1674, p. 51.

¹⁸ Warrants of Exchequer Reg. 17 June 1664.

¹⁹ B.M., Harl. MS. 4612.

completed within the first year in which he held office, was the preparation of a complete inventory of the Exchequer records, "Ane tabill and repertour of the Cheker rollis extant in the Register collectit and put in ordour conforme to the numer and ordour of the kingis in quhais tyme thai wer maid and of the yeiris of ilkane of the kingis forsaidis".²¹ A summary list showed the contents of each of the fifteen "coffers of the Register" on 30 April, 1595, while details were given of each class of the "Kingis rollis and comptis".

Although the "tabill" also embraced account books, rentals and other records, the Exchequer rolls themselves formed the largest, oldest and most important group, filling seven out of the fifteen coffers. Altogether, there were 894 rolls, covering the period 1264-1594, of which 572²² survive at the present day. The total number, down to 1708, stands at about 850, but from 1673 onwards the rolls are actually large parchment books, in consequence of an Act of Parliament of 1672, which ordered "that the present way of making the compts of Exchequer in rolls be altered, and that the same be maid heiraftir in bookes of parchment".²³ Curiously, the Exchequer accounts of 1471 are also in this form.²⁴ The rolls proper are made up of parchment membranes some 11 or 12 inches wide and up to 24 or 26 inches long, sewn together, head to tail, to the required length. For most years there are several rolls, each containing the accounts of a particular branch of crown revenue or of a different class of official.

Before proceeding to examine the Exchequer rolls in detail, it is necessary to draw attention to their importance as records. In Skene's time and earlier they were consulted frequently for information and precedents. Thus in reference to a case of 1483, involving the tenure of certain lands, the Clerk-Register was "to pas and seik the ald Chekker rolls to se geif ony declaratioun can be had to schaw mare clerely how the sammyn landis ar halden".²⁵ The Exchequer officials, too, might consult the old rolls, for instance to determine when a burgh had last rendered an account.²⁶ Skene himself searched through them to produce a list of crown lands which had been alienated and to establish the rates of customs paid in former times.²⁷

As we have seen, about 300 rolls have been lost since 1595. Even at that date less than half a dozen thirteenth century rolls were in existence, all of which were subsequently lost or destroyed. Their contents are known from short extracts made for the first Earl of Haddington, in which it is noted of the roll of 1289, that "the first comptis are revin, blekked and can not be red".²⁸ The greatest loss, however, that of nearly all the sheriffs' rolls up to 1630, may be attributed to the fire of 1811. A return of the records in the custody of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in 1800 mentioned that these rolls were "tolerably complete" from about 1400. Nine only have survived, two of which (1489 and 1601) were discovered among unsorted records in 1957,²⁹ and there are also three rolls containing single accounts and a fragmentary copy of some of the accounts of 1535.³⁰ The contents of the lost rolls after 1513 are partly known from the "Responde Books", by which Chancery notified the Exchequer of the amounts for which each sheriff had to answer on infesting (*Anglice* infeoffing) the heirs of crown vassals. There is also an old index covering "responsiones" from 1437 to 1618.³¹

In contrast the burgh or customars' rolls are almost complete from 1326. They are known by these alternative titles because one side of the roll contained the accounts of the bailies of the royal burghs

²¹ The author has referred to the MS. in the Scottish Record Office. There is another MS. *penes* the Earl of Haddington and a copy in the National Library of Scotland (Adv. MS. 31.3.5).

²² Some of which appear to be omitted from Skene's lists.

²³ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland (APS)*, viii, 88.

²⁴ Exchequer Roll No. 263. The missing accounts of 1470 and 1472 were probably also in book form, but were lost before Skene's time.

²⁵ *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes*, cxx.

²⁶ *Exchequer Rolls*, xi, 384.

²⁷ "Tabill", pp. 1a, 3-40; Exchequer, Customs Papers, No. 1.

²⁸ Printed in *Exchequer Rolls*, i, 1-51. All the rolls down to 1600 are printed in the 23 volumes of *Exchequer Rolls* with the exceptions referred to in notes 29 and 40 *infra*.

²⁹ Nos. 294A and 536A (unprinted). The accounts for 1471 are in the parchment volume mentioned above.

³⁰ *Eques* No. 1. *Eques* were copies of the accounts on the rolls given to accountants as their discharge; cf. the English *quietus*. The name derived from the words "*Et sic eque*" at the end of a discharged account. It was later applied to the drafts from which the rolls were compiled.

³¹ Strictly speaking, this is only an index to the Responde Books from 1492, the earlier "*responsiones*" being taken from the sheriffs' rolls. The index and the Responde Books themselves are printed as appendices to the volumes of *Exchequer Rolls*.

of their burgh farms and other payments due to the King and, until 1629, the other contained the accounts of the custumars of the great customs. The latter should be taken in conjunction with the series of customs books beginning in 1498 and ending in 1640. These books, now arranged under 29 ports, are detailed statements of each consignment of goods customed, in some cases mentioning the vessels on which they were shipped and their destinations. The largest and most complete group (78) is that for Edinburgh but there are 188 altogether. Skene had enough cockets, that is certificates of payment of customs,³² to fill the whole of one coffer and part of another. Less than four dozen of these have survived.

The accounts of the *ballivi ad extra*, the chamberlains and receivers of the King's property and ward lands, were the latest to develop. The first roll, that of 1434, was short and contained only four accounts, but the forfeitures of powerful vassals, notably the Douglasses, increased the crown lands to such an extent that for the last few years of James V's reign two rolls were required annually to record the accounts. The roll, also known as the property roll,³³ was closely related to the crown rentals or *Rentalia domini regis*, of which nine volumes survive for the period 1476-1588. Although Skene records eighteen volumes, it seems that the reduced number is the result of later rebinding and not of any losses. The *rentalia* differ from the seventeenth century rentals, such as those drawn up by Purves, in that they are the actual record of the leasing of the crown lands by the King's commissioners, entry in the rental (rentalling) constituting and recording the tenant's right.³⁴ As a result of the extensive feuing of the crown lands in the sixteenth century the rentals ceased to be kept in the old form and at the same time the character of the property rolls changed, as the accountants became predominantly feuars rendering accounts of their feu duties. The property rolls and burgh rolls continued in an almost unaltered form after 1708, being kept by the Auditor and King's Remembrancer respectively.

Certain minor accounts appear in the fourteenth and fifteenth century Exchequer rolls, for taxations, the mint and others described by Skene as "auld rollis quhilk hes nocht daitis and ar of litill consequence". Between 1461 and 1463, there are also rolls of the Queen dowager's Exchequer.³⁵ The enrolment of minor accounts had ceased by the sixteenth century when they were preserved in small books, of which Skene listed a number. Those surviving at the present day include an account of the revenues of the bishopric of Moray *sede vacante*, 1538, and an account of James VI's annuity from England, 1594-1595.³⁶ There are several larger volumes of accounts, notably Cardinal Beaton's accounts of his receipts of the dowries of James V's queens and of his expenditure for the King in France.³⁷ The most important of the minor accounts are those of the Masters of Works for building and repair of the royal castles and palaces, 1529-1679, in 32 volumes, which are being printed in three volumes, one of which has been published.³⁸ It should be noted that these accounts do not cover all expenditure on royal buildings, for at various times the Treasurer made payments of a similar nature.

A number of references have been made to the Treasurer's accounts, so it is now necessary to consider the chief financial officers of the crown. In the fourteenth century there was one only, the Great Chamberlain, who drew upon all branches of the King's revenue and who met all classes of expenditure. Under his control were the Clerk of the Wardrobe and the Clerk of Liverance, the latter being responsible for the provisions of the King's household.³⁹ Soon after James I's return from captivity in England in 1424 two subordinate officers, designated "thesaurarius" and "contrarotulator" were acting alongside him. By 1426, however, these subordinates had completely ousted him⁴⁰

³² The customs books have not been printed, although they would be of considerable value to economic historians. A Scottish cocket of 1456 is printed in *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, 1150-1485*, ii, No. 1448.

³³ Skene compiled an index of the principal lands in the property rolls from 1440-1594. "Tabill" pp. 135-163.

³⁴ The rentals are printed as appendices to the *Exchequer Rolls*, vols. vii-xxiii. They are of considerable value for social and economic history.

³⁵ *Exchequer Rolls*, vii.

³⁶ *Exchequer Accounts* (Various), Nos. 4, 17.

³⁷ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, vii, 1-64.

³⁸ *Accounts of the Master of Works*, vol. i, 1529-1615.

³⁹ The accounts of the Chamberlains, Clerks of Liverance and Clerks of the Wardrobe are printed in the *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. i-iv, except for one account of an acting Clerk of Liverance, 1387, *Exchequer Roll* No. 101B.

⁴⁰ *Exchequer Rolls*, iv, p. xciv.

and thenceforward his financial responsibilities were confined to accounting for the issues of the Chamberlain Ayre. Although it appears that a Chamberlain's account was rendered so late as 1515,⁴¹ the last surviving one dates from 1435⁴² and Skene knew of none later than 1456.

This altered state of affairs led to a change in the title of one of the new officials, from "contrarotulator" to "compotorum rotulator" or comptroller. The derivation of his new title is obscure but reflects the fact that his accounts had ceased to be connected with those of the Chamberlain and the Treasurer. As nearly all their accounts up to James IV's reign are lost, the study of the development of the duties of the Treasurer and Comptroller is rather difficult, but the division of revenue and expenditure between them shown in an account of Scottish administration drawn up in 1559,⁴³ appears to have been settled more than a century before that date.

The Comptroller received the revenues of the royal "property", comprising land rents, burgh farms, the great customs, and certain annual payments, such as blench farms and castlewards collected by the Sheriffs. Occasionally his title altered to that of 'Receiver-General', apparently as a means of making more effective his control over the subordinate receivers or chamberlains of crown lands. The 15th and 16th century Receiver-general (i.e. Comptroller) should not be confused with the similarly-named 17th century official, who was subordinate to the Treasurer. He paid certain pensions and minor charges, but his main responsibility was the provisioning of the royal Household. His accounts, however, only give his total expenditure for the Household under general headings, which are based on detailed day-by-day accounts. The "*Libri Emptorum*", of which there are 13 volumes, 1511-1512, 1531-1538, 1542-1543, and 1546-1553, contain the purchases made by the "emptores" or "catours". The "*Libri Domicilii Regis*" contain not only these purchases, but also all other deliveries of provisions to the household, in addition to current accounts of the stock in hand. Twelve volumes have survived, forming an imperfect series for the years 1525 to 1551, from which the Bannatyne Club printed a very valuable collection of extracts covering the period 1525-1533.⁴⁴ From 1538 to 1565, with some gaps, another series, "Despences de la Maison Royale" records the household expenses of Mary of Guise, wife of James V and later Regent, and of her daughter Mary, Queen of Scots. As their title suggests these volumes were written in French. Records of the household of James VI are very scanty and after 1603, of course, he and his successors only paid brief visits to Scotland.

Because of their brevity and simplicity the Comptroller's accounts kept to the same standard form from year to year and were written in Latin until about 1588.⁴⁵ They were enrolled until 1567 although, curiously, the earliest separate accounts are portions of "ane lytill buik in 4° contenant sum comptrollar comptis in King James the thridis tyme and of other comptrollaris in the tyme of King James the fourt". The James IV accounts are now in two small volumes, one of which strayed out of official custody in the nineteenth century and was restored to the Scottish Record Office in 1954.⁴⁶ It appears that the practice was to enrol accounts which had been made up and audited in book form.⁴⁷

Although Sir William Purves wrote many years after the disappearance, except in name, of the office of Comptroller, he had a clear idea of its importance. "He was esteemed in greater accompt then the Thesaurer, he haveing the management of the whole propertie, the placing of all Receavers, Challmerlaines, and uther officers, the takeing of a cautione for thair fidelitie, the censuring and punishing them for abuses and disposing them of thair offices, passing of all infestments of the propertie and the managing of the haill affairs pertaining and belonging theirt".⁴⁸ Nevertheless the office was extremely burdensome to its holders and changed hands no less than twenty-one times between 1464 and 1492. The revenues from the property, hardly adequate to meet the charges of

⁴¹ *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, 31.

⁴² *Exchequer Rolls*, iv, 668.

⁴³ *Discours Particulier D'Escosse*, Bannatyne Club, 1824, 3-10.

⁴⁴ *Excerpta e Libris Domicilii Domini Jacobi Quinti Regis Scotorum*, 1836.

⁴⁵ *Exchequer Rolls*, xxii, pp. lxii-lxviii.

⁴⁶ Printed in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, Vol. ix, 59-75. The remaining Comptroller's accounts are printed in the *Exchequer Rolls*. Accounts for 1450, and 1453 were entered on the Customars' roll. *Exchequer Rolls*, v, 390, 604. A separate roll of 1456 contains a special account, not, in fact, rendered by the Comptroller, *ibid*, vi, 289.

⁴⁷ *Exchequer Rolls*, xx, p. liii.

⁴⁸ *Revenue of the Scottish Crown*, 22.

the Household, were further diminished by the King's misplaced generosity, of which Robert Barton complained in 1525, that "quhatever mycht happin tocum thairthrow in tyme tocum suld nocht be laid to his charge, sen he has done his exact diligence, spendit his awn geir and may sustene na forrar".⁴⁹ His successor, James Colville, stated more bluntly: "Suppos the king wantit, thar suld na reproche be input to him tharthrow".⁵⁰

The office of Treasurer, therefore, was generally more attractive to magnates and prelates, although in 1599 the Earl of Cassillis absconded soon after his appointment, fearing that it would prove ruinous to him.⁵¹ The "casualty" or branch of revenue which the Treasurer administered came to consist largely of compositions paid in lieu of duties and penalties owing to the King, such as the casualties of ward, non-entry, relief and marriage, the "unlaws" and escheats of the Justice Ayre⁵² and other courts and other payments for gifts and charters from the crown. In doing this he negotiated directly with the persons concerned, the effect of which was to curtail considerably the sheriffs' functions as collectors of revenue. Thus the Treasurer's accounts contain a "charge" in which receipts from the sheriffs form a small part, the bulk of the receipts being from compositions of various kinds.⁵³ He also received money levied by taxation, which was granted by the Estates for special purposes and not as a regular part of the royal income.⁵⁴ If then, the Treasurer's "charge" was much longer and more detailed than the Comptroller's, his "discharge"⁵⁵ exceeded the latter's in these respects to such an extent that it completely exhausted the clerks' Latinity. From the earliest full account in existence, that of 1473-1474, the accounts uniformly employ Scots. The account of 1473-1474 extends to 53 folios, the next, that of 1488-1492, to 138 folios, much too lengthy for enrolment. All the Treasurer's accounts known to Skene were in book form, but he listed none earlier than 1469.⁵⁶ The form of the Treasurer's "discharge" varied, although it tended to be a detailed list of items in each category of expenditure on a monthly basis; pensions and salaries, liveries, alms, the wardrobe, arms and artillery, buildings, etc. The management of the *Bursa regis*, the King's purse, passed during James V's reign to the "pursmaister" of whom very little is known, apart from fragments of two of his accounts.⁵⁷

In 1539-1540 the Treasurer received about £28,200, while the Comptroller drew £17,900 from the property. The total amount, £46,000 Scots, was equivalent to £13,150 sterling.⁵⁸ James V left £26,000 in his coffers at his death⁵⁹ in spite of quite lavish expenditure. He had been able to supplement his income by drawing upon the wealth of the Church by means of taxes and "voluntary" contributions⁶⁰ and by nominating his infant illegitimate sons to some of the greater benefices. Expedients such as these, however, did not require any innovations in the financial administration. No special department dealing specifically with church revenues existed before 1562, when the "Collectory" was set up. It should be explained that the religious changes of 1559-1561 had given the protestant religion *de facto* recognition, but no share in the endowments of the Church.

In February 1561-1562 the Privy Council determined to levy one-third of the fruits of all benefices, to be applied partly to the payment of stipends of ministers of the Reformed Church and partly to the royal Household and the Queen's guard. Within a few years Knox had to comment that "the gaird and the effairis of the kytcheing wer so gryping that the mynisteris stipendis could nocht be

⁴⁹ APS, ii, 296.

⁵⁰ *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, 250.

⁵¹ *Register of Privy Council*, v, p. cx.

⁵² The Treasurer and "Lords Compositours" or "Lords Compositours" accompanied the Justiciar on ayre to compound, with those who were amerced, the amounts that were to be paid.

⁵³ All the Treasurer's accounts down to 1566 are printed in *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, with the exception of those mentioned in note 56 *infra* and some fragments of an account covering June-August 1557.

⁵⁴ Early taxation accounts in the Exchequer rolls have been noticed above. The separate series of taxation records and accounts dates only from the end of the sixteenth century. Livingstone's *Guide*, 40-44.

⁵⁵ It must be stressed that "charge" and "discharge" are not equivalent to receipts and expenditure.

⁵⁶ There is a short Treasurer's account for 1438 (charge only), *Exchequer Rolls*, v, 49, and an account of a receiver-general "sub thesaurario" for 1434, *ibid.*, iv, 497.

⁵⁷ *Accounts (Various)* Nos. 6-7.

⁵⁸ These figures, for net revenue from sources within Scotland, are based on the Comptroller's and Treasurer's accounts.

⁵⁹ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, iii, No. 383.

⁶⁰ See R. K. Hannay, *The College of Justice* (1933), chap. iv.

payit".⁶¹ But after the protestant revolution of 1567 the stipends became a prior charge upon the Thirds and the Crown took only the "superplus" or unassigned portion. Rentals of the benefices were entered in the Books of Assumption, while the sums due to the ministers were set down in the Register of Stipends. The Thirds were received by twelve deputy collectors, over whom was a Collector General. The series of Collector Generals' accounts is almost complete for the years 1561-1597 and there are large numbers of sub-collectors accounts dated 1563-1573. By a curious process Livingstone classified all these records as "ecclesiastical".⁶²

The Scottish Reformation differed from that in England in that it was not accompanied by any dissolution of the religious houses. Even before the overthrow of the old Church, its endowments and wealth were passing steadily into lay hands. In 1587, most of the remaining temporalities were annexed to the Crown by an Act which was partially repealed in 1606 in so far as it related to the temporalities of bishoprics.⁶³ It was not until 1592 however, that proper provision was made for the King to receive this "new augmentation" of his revenues.⁶⁴ Apart from a volume of accounts beginning on 1 November, 1592, and ending in 1595, and rentals of the kirklands north and south of the Forth, there are very few records of the Treasury of the New Augmentation. Its organization has yet to be studied.

Thus by the end of the sixteenth century there were four principal financial officers of the Crown: the Comptroller, Treasurer, Collector-General of the Thirds of Benefices, and Treasurer of the New Augmentation. It was the duty of each to protect the branch of revenue under his charge by seeing that it was not diminished by any ill-considered royal grants. As early as 1528 it was enacted that all signatures (warrants signed by the King) affecting the property and casualty must be signed by the Comptroller and Treasurer respectively and by three "compositors".⁶⁵ A register was kept to record the signatures and compositions payable on them. Having placed it in *Guide* under "Crown Grants and Titles to Lands, Dignities and Offices", Livingstone explained: "This contains a record of all the signatures and warrants affecting the revenue under the charge of the Treasurer, as well as that administered by the Comptroller. As such, it might more strictly be placed with their accounts . . . But as the original signatures preserved go no further back than 1607, and this register is a continuous record from 1561, it is convenient, for purposes of reference, to insert it here as the earliest record of warrants for Crown grants".⁶⁶ While perhaps logical in adhering to his own principles, Livingstone does not make it clear that the Register also served the Collectory and the Treasury of the New Augmentation. It ends in 1642, but another Register of Signatures, begun after the Restoration, is extant from 1705 in the form of copies of signatures, preserved in bundles up to 1715, and in volumes thereafter down to 1847. It is one of the few records linking the financial administration before and after 1708.

IV

During Skene's lifetime changes took place in the organization of the Exchequer, which were to have considerable effects upon its records. In the early sixteenth century it could carry out many of the administrative and judicial functions of the King's Council, of which it was an offshoot, and its Auditors had special powers by royal commission for auditing the King's accounts and a statutory duty by Act of Parliament of 1535 of examining and supervising the accounts of the "common good" of burghs.⁶⁷ A burgh's "common good" consisted of the rents and profits of its lands, its petty customs and other items, and was liable, after payment of the burgh ferm to the King, for the maintenance of its administration. Over 300 accounts, covering the years 1557-1684, are preserved for 55 burghs.⁶⁸ But because the Exchequer only sat for a month or so each year, no registers were kept of the ad-

⁶¹ *Works*, ed. Laing., ii, 417.

⁶² The earlier accounts have been printed. G. Donaldson, *Thirds of Benefices, 1561-1572*, *Sc. tish History Society*, 1949; see also G. Donaldson, *Sources for the study of Scottish Ecclesiastical Organization and Personnel, 1560-1600* (*Bulletin of Institute of Historical Research*, xix, 188-203).

⁶³ *APS*, iii, 455; iv, 282.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 564.

⁶⁵ *APS*, ii, 204; cf. *ibid.*, 328; iii, 378, 560.

⁶⁶ *loc. cit.*, p. 107.

⁶⁷ *APS*, ii, 349.

⁶⁸ With these are other accounts by the burghs of the small impost on wines, 1615-1634.

ministrative and judicial business with which it dealt. Until 1628 it was the practice to enter orders and minutes on blank pages in the Responde Books,⁶⁹ while at an earlier date judicial and other business was recorded in the Registers of Council.⁷⁰ Certain administrative changes took place in 1584⁷¹ reflected in the earliest surviving Exchequer Act Book, which begins in that year.⁷² For the first time the Exchequer became a permanent body.

The permanent Exchequer set up in 1584 did not fulfil the hopes entertained of it "Thair is not quhyte⁷³ nor beir,⁷⁴ silver nor uthir rent, to serve his Hienes sufficientlie in breid and drink nor uthirwayes",⁷⁵ or as James himself complained: "In schort na trayst or dayet is keeped. Quhat is spokin this nicht is forgot the morne. In the morninge I see nathing menid but to gurne".⁷⁶ On 5 January, 1595/6, a new commission of Exchequer was appointed consisting of eight members, known from that circumstance as the "Octavians", among whom was Skene. Their greater efficiency was matched by unpopularity leading to their fall a year later, after which an Act of Parliament forbade any further permanent commissions of Exchequer. After James's accession to the English throne control of financial administration was vested for a time in a conciliar body, known as the Commissioners of Rents, which has left very few records.⁷⁷ In Charles I's reign, however, a permanent Exchequer was established once more.⁷⁸ Cromwell appointed judges for a Court of Exchequer in Scotland⁷⁹ but after the Restoration, the former Commissioners of Exchequer were replaced. The Exchequer Act Book or Register is preserved, with gaps, from 1584 to 1650 and contains orders and registered deeds as well as judicial decrees of the Auditors or Commissioners. The loss of the whole of the post-Restoration register is largely offset by the preservation of nearly all the original papers or warrants from which it was compiled. From 1630 to 1708 a Minute Book was kept, four volumes of which survive, including the minutes of Cromwell's Exchequer, 1655-1659. Other judicial and administrative business is to be found in the series of Petitions and Processes of the Exchequer and Treasury, 1567-1708, of which about 95% are post-Restoration.

The 17th century also saw the emergence of the Treasury as the controlling financial department. The need for this development is clearly shown by the provision of an Act of 1592, that the Treasurer, Comptroller, Collector and Secretary were "to aggrie among thame selfis quhat dewlie and properlie appertenis to everie ane of thair offices".⁸⁰ After 1610 the offices of Treasurer, Comptroller, Collector-General and Treasurer of the New Augmentation were united in one person, although the revenues of these offices were kept distinct until 1651 and they continued to exist, in name only, until 1708. As the office of Treasurer became more exalted, many of its responsibilities passed to the Treasurer-depute. The Treasury was in commission from 1641 to 1644, from 1667 to 1682 and from 1686 to 1708. A Treasury Register and a Sederunt Book were commenced in 1667, both being complete down to the abolition of the Scottish Treasury in 1708, except for the first volume of the Register. A large series of warrants, including royal letters, accompanies the Register.

As the Treasurer and the Commissioners of the Treasury became increasingly concerned with administration and policy, the actual receipt and payment of money was committed to a subordinate, known at first as the Receiver and after the Restoration as the Receiver General and Cashkeeper. The "Articles anent abuses of Exchequer" presented to Charles I in 1634 stated that "because the office of receaveris, who are thrie, is fund to be a charge to your Majestie and that your Majesties service may be done without thame by the diligence of your Majesties Treasurer and deputy Treasurer,

⁶⁹ The function of the Responde Books has been explained. The minutes are printed as appendices to the *Exchequer Rolls* up to 1600.

⁷⁰ *Acta Dominorum Concilii* and *Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis*, printed in full 1478-1501, and in part, 1501-1554. See *The Sources and Literature of Scots' Law*, *Stair Soc.*, pp. 16-24.

⁷¹ *Register of Privy Council*, iii, 626-7; *APS*, iii, 309.

⁷² There may have been an Act Book in 1569. *Exchequer Rolls*, xx, 399.

⁷³ Wheat.

⁷⁴ Barley.

⁷⁵ *Register of Privy Council*, v, 255.

⁷⁶ Murray Rose, *op. cit.*, xxxviii; "menid", complained, "gurne", grumble.

⁷⁷ Some proceedings of the Commissioners of Rents are to be found in the printed *Register of the Privy Council*.

⁷⁸ *APS*, v, 35.

⁷⁹ *APS*, vi, pt. ii, 751, 760, 892.

⁸⁰ *APS*, iii, 563.

therefore wee doe conceive the samen not to be necessarie".⁸¹ Nevertheless the office continued to grow in importance. The accounts of Sir Adam Blair of Carberry and Sir William Lockhart of Carstairs, who held office under several Treasurers between 1642 and 1651, were so involved that the audit was not completed until 1681. A mass of vouchers (Precepts and Receipts) and draft accounts record their activities. After 1661, the Receiver General and Cashkeeper paid salaries, pensions and other sums, according to precepts drawn on him by the Treasury, most of which are preserved.⁸²

The financial confusion of the decade in which Blair and Lockhart held office resulted not only from the overlapping of the duties of Receiver and Treasurer, but also from Parliament's attempt to take over some of the functions of the Exchequer through the Committee for the Common Burdens of the Kingdom and the Committees for Moneys, Excise and Prosecution of Malignants. The registers and papers of these bodies form part of the records of Parliament.⁸³ Several volumes of accounts and papers relating to military expenditure during the Civil War are preserved among the Exchequer records, while the maintenance of the standing army after 1660 has left a far larger series of accounts of various sorts, as well as numerous muster rolls which were lodged with the Treasury.⁸⁴

The Civil War and its aftermath had a permanent effect on the financial administration, even though the Scots government did not equal Cromwell's success in exacting revenue from Scotland.⁸⁵ The old hereditary revenue was of less consequence. Purves's rental of 1681 shows that it amounted to £89,821 Scots gross and only £47,445 net. ((£3,787 sterling). At the Union the whole revenue was estimated in sterling at £100,000 for customs and excise, £8,500 for crown rents and casualties, £2,000 from the post office, £1,500 from the coinage and £48,000 for land tax, £160,000 in all.⁸⁶ The levying of excise duties was a direct consequence of the Civil War, for they were first imposed in 1644 for the maintenance of the army, continued in 1660 and permanently annexed to the Crown in 1685. The "inland excise" and the "foreign excise" were collected and accounted for separately, the latter being assimilated to the customs. Apart from accounts of the general and local collectors of the inland excise, the Record Office also possesses minutes of the Commissioners of Excise for Selkirkshire. It may be noted here, that Commissioners of Assessment and Commissioners of Supply were also established in every sheriffdom as part of the re-organised system of taxation. The customs and foreign excise were under managers or tacksmen, whose sederunt books are extant for 1692-1699 and 1704-1705. Import and export books are preserved for the principal Scottish ports.

The Revolution of 1688 was followed by the forfeiture of James VII's principal adherents, including Viscount Dundee and the Earl of Dunfermline, the accounts of whose estates form a sequel to those of the Covenanters and others under the previous regime. It also led to the final abolition of episcopacy and the assumption by the Crown of the revenues of the bishoprics and archbishoprics. The accounts of Bishops' Rents, with related papers, extend beyond 1708, as do those of the Vacant Stipends, that is the ministers' stipends of churches during vacancies, which were collected and administered by the Treasury.

Military operations in Scotland and other necessities led William III's ministers to seek for further sources of revenue. A hearth-tax was imposed in 1690 and a poll-tax in 1693, 1695, and 1698.⁸⁷ As the tacksmen or farmers of the first poll-tax found their bargain unprofitable they were freed of their liability to pay more than they had collected, and a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to deal with the arrears. The papers of this committee have been preserved, along with a number of hearth-tax

⁸¹ Exchequer Act Bk. 1634-9, f. 22v.

⁸² The series of Precepts and Receipts of the Treasury and Comptrollery begins in 1511 but the bulk of them are seventeenth century. After 1667 treasury precepts were recorded in the Treasury Register but it appears that no record was kept in earlier times. Warrants under the Privy Seal (principally for pensions) are to be found in the Register of the Privy Seal (printed 1488-1567).

⁸³ Livingstone, *Guide*, 12-13.

⁸⁴ C. S. Terry, Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, *Scottish History Society*, 1917, 2 vol.; C. Dalton, *The Scots Army, 1661-1688*, 1909.

⁸⁵ The report by Thomas Tucker on the settlement of the revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland, 1656 (*Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society*, 1881) is of considerable value and interest.

⁸⁶ Murray Rose, *op. cit.*, xlviii-xlix.

⁸⁷ Reports on the collection of these taxes were presented to Parliament in 1701. *APS*, xi, 170-3, 185-7.

and poll-tax accounts for the years 1693-1698, which are, of course, of considerable interest to genealogists.⁸⁸

Of necessity much has had to be omitted from this brief survey of the records of the old Exchequer of Scotland. It has tried to place the main groups in their historical and administrative context and to give some idea of their purpose and value. These records form easily the largest and most important government archive of the pre-Union kingdom and while the historian and the archivist may regret what has been lost, what remains can still afford a fruitful ground for the labours and studies of both.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ None of the hearth-tax records have been printed but certain poll-tax lists have been printed from local sources: *List of Pollable Persons within the shire of Aberdeen* (1844); *Edinburgh Poll Tax Returns for 1694* (*Scottish Record Society*, 1951).

⁸⁹ The writer wishes to thank Professor W. Croft Dickinson, of Edinburgh University, and Dr. C. T. McInnes, Curator of Historical Records, Scottish Record Office, for their advice, and also some of his colleagues in the Scottish Record Office for their comments and suggestions.

The Public Archives of Canada, 1871-1958

BY BERNARD WEILBRENNER, M.A.

PART I: 1871-1911

THE DEVELOPMENT of the Public Archives of Canada has been characterized by a succession of false starts and gropings, by plans never fully carried out, and, generally, by lack of governmental interest. The prodding of the historical societies, the chief archivists, and commissions of inquiry succeeded in obtaining some action, but these efforts were sporadic and of short duration.

In spite of this, growth, however slow and painful, was achieved, and to-day, although numerous and important problems still face the Public Archives, it seems strong enough to meet the challenge successfully.

These pages try to follow the Archives, year after year, in its vast dreams, timid progresses and solid achievements.

The Archives owes its creation to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. This society, founded in 1824, had been very active in the field of archives. Mr. Henry Miles, a prominent member of the Society, had, in 1870, read a paper suggesting that the government should do something to collect, preserve and index Canadian archives. He interested in his project Hon. Joseph Howe and Hon. A. T. Galt. At the end of 1870, he prepared a petition for Parliament and had it signed by over fifty leading authors and scholars of Montreal and Quebec. On March 24, 1871, Hon. A. T. Galt presented the petition to the House. The petition asked Parliament to create a depository for historical archives, where they could be collected, arranged and rendered easy of consultation to the scholars. Referred by Parliament to the Joint Library Committee, it was transferred by that body to the Minister of Agriculture, who was minister of the arts, for action, on April 13.

In due course, the minister presented a memorandum to Council, and on August 2, was authorized by P.C. 1332 to make preliminary investigations on the subject and to have a sum placed on the estimates at the next session for the prosecution of the work.

In the same year, application was made, through the good offices of the deputy-minister, Mr. Taché, for the transfer to the Canadian Government of a large collection of military correspondence, stored at Halifax, waiting to be sent to London.

In 1872, Parliament voted a sum of \$4,000 and Douglas Brymner, a well-known journalist, was appointed archivist on June 20. He was provided with "three empty rooms and very vague instructions". He decided to follow the first lead he had toward the acquisition of documents. He went to Halifax, examined and reported on the British military papers there. He also made a preliminary inquiry into the extent and state of the records and historical papers in the larger centres of Halifax, St. John, Fredericton, Quebec, Montreal and Toronto.

Having surveyed the situation in Canada, he decided to visit London in 1873. He negotiated the transfer by the War Department of the military papers at Halifax, estimated at 400,000 pieces. He prepared a list of valuable documents in the Tower of London, the War Office, the Public Record Office, and the British Museum. He recommended that the Haldimand and Bouquet collections be copied in extenso.

Meanwhile, inspired by this activity in the Department of Agriculture, or simply trying to live up to his obligations as keeper of the State Records, obligations imposed on him by the statute creating his department, the Secretary of State took steps to rescue from oblivion the old government records left in the vaults in Montreal, and obtained the appointment of Mr. Henry J. Morgan as keeper of the records. Some difficulties were encountered with the change of Government, but the appointment was confirmed and the records were transferred to Ottawa in 1874.

Two offices, or, to be more correct, two officials, completely independent one from another, potentially in competition, were thus appointed at an interval of less than two years, to the custodianship of Canadian archives.

Most of Brymner's time, from 1874 to 1880, was devoted to the arrangement in chronological and subject order, of the military papers. Other activities included the start, in 1875, of a collection of publications of the federal and provincial governments, the arrangement of 197 volumes of records and 15 volumes of private papers, and the preparation of the first catalogues and indexes.

In 1877, the *Institut canadien d'Ottawa* celebrated its 25th anniversary. It convened a literary convention in Ottawa in October. One of the aims of the meeting was to devise practical means for the preservation and publication of Canadian archives. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was again in the forefront; the following year, on April 10, the president, J. M. LeMoine, presented a memorial to Parliament through Hon. G. Baby, praying that "the Dominion Government of the day will complete the measure of progress of 1870 [*sic*] by providing the necessary legislation to create a Public Record Office under a responsible head at Ottawa and take the necessary steps to have copied and gathered there the archives of Canada scattered in Canada as well as in other lands".

The Government showed some interest by including a sum of \$3,000 in the estimates on April 25.

Only in 1881 was the Archivist given the assistance of a clerk. Then, leaving the clerk in charge, he went to Europe to arrange for the copying of the documents relating to Canada in the British Museum. After his return, he prepared the first complete catalogue of the holdings of the Archives Branch for the annual report.

Meanwhile, little work seems to have been accomplished in the Department of the Secretary of State. In 1882, a sum of \$2,000 had been voted for the arrangement and indexing of the records of the old Province of Canada. The following year, the position of keeper of the records became vacant with the promotion of Mr. Morgan. The position, which, according to the Under-Secretary, required "a person having special and more than ordinary knowledge of the history of Canada, a thorough knowledge of both the English and French languages and having qualifications of a higher order than those exacted by the Civil Service examinations", was filled by Mr. Alphonse Audet, already a member of the Department.

In 1883, Brymner went to London again. There he found that rules limited the examination of official records, in most cases, to 1760. After some negotiations, he obtained permission to examine and copy the records of the Foreign Office to 1842, but without the office minutes. The permission was extended to the records of several other departments, to which he paid a hurried visit. He proceeded to Paris where he acquired books and maps, and met Joseph Marmette, who had been appointed, on June 1, assistant archivist. Brymner secured permission for him to select and copy documents in French archives.

The report for 1883, the first published separately as well as with the Sessional Papers, set the pattern for subsequent reports. It consisted of an introduction, a report on the work performed, a discussion of a few historical subjects; appendices contained detailed reports, topical documents, calendars or verbatim copies of documents.

During this first decade of the Archives, systems and methods for arranging, calendaring, cataloguing and indexing documents and volumes had been studied. It had been decided generally to divide books and manuscripts by geographical and chronological sections. Where no organization existed, the subject arrangement, and chronological within the subject, was selected.

The inventory prepared at the end of 1883 listed the following groups of manuscripts: Military (C series), 1063 vols.; Civil and Military, 197 vols.; Misc. Manuscripts (private), 24 vols.; Haldimand (copies), 164 vols.; Bouquet (copies), 25 vols.; Maps and charts (450 items), 12 vols. The Archives also had 2395 books, mostly about the central provinces, and the Dominion.

In 1884, efforts were made to enlist the co-operation of the Provinces. From 1884 to 1888, copies continued to be received from London, and also from Rome. Searches were continued in Paris, and Joseph Marmette sent reports of his progress in 1885, 1886, 1887. Searches were also made in Canada, and copies were obtained from Quebec and the Maritimes. Originals and copies were received from private sources in Canada.

By 1889, the number of inquiries was increasing and the collections of the Archives were attracting much praise: the *Atlantic Monthly* described them as "unrivalled on the Continent for materials in Western History", and the president of the American Historical Association, Dr. F. W. Poole, remarked: "Something of the enterprise of the Canadian Government should animate the Congress of the United States in the establishment and support of a Department of Archives, which will be worthy of this nation".

Douglas Brymner was invited to read a paper before the A.H.A. He reviewed the work done at the Canadian Archives since its creation in 1872. He also expressed his firmly held opinions on copying: "My own view was that no man could tell what documents might or might not be safely omitted, even the most trifling being a link in the chains of evidence, as any investigator knows" . . . and further: "It is scarcely necessary to say that I have insisted on the copies containing every peculiarity of spelling, every error, and that no variation in these or in any other respect is allowed".

Dr. Brymner also found occasion to stress the distinction between the archivist and both the librarian and the historian, in a style reminiscent of his former calling of journalist:

"The functions of the archivist are not the same as those of the librarian; neither can he be called a historian. He collects the documents from which history is to be written, and must, therefore, have a sufficient knowledge of the works that exist, treating not only the subjects with which he has to deal, but also of others which have, at first sight, a very slight and indirect bearing on them. As an archivist, he has to collect the rough material to be formed into structures of exquisite beauty in the hands of the skillful workman, or to be raised by the dishonest and incompetent into unsubstantial erections, which crumble into ruins before the first rude blast of adverse criticism."

Dr. Brymner concluded his paper with his vision of the role to be played by the Canadian Archives: "My ambition aims at the establishment of a great storehouse of the history of the colony and colonists in their political, ecclesiastical, industrial, domestic, in a word, in every aspect of their lives as communities. . . . It may be a dream, but it is a noble dream. It has often spurred me to renewed effort when the daily drudgery—for it is drudgery—was telling on mind and body. It might be accomplished, and Ottawa might become on this continent the Mecca to which historical investigators would turn their eyes and direct their steps. But who is sufficient for the task?" How much optimism Brymner was showing is revealed by the fact that the budget of the Archives was only of \$6000 at the time.

In the same year (1889) the Post Office Department asked for authority to dispose from time to time of vouchers and other useless documents of a routine character which not only encumbered the vaults and record rooms, but also formed a source of danger in case of fire: it was probably the first request for continuing authority for destruction according to a schedule. The subject was referred to the Minister of Finance, and correspondence followed with the Imperial Treasury and other public offices in England; the Minutes of the Treasury and other documents relating to the destruction of public records in England were procured and transmitted to Canada. About six months after the question was raised by the Post Office Department, the problem, as it applied to all departments, was considered in Council, and an order, passed 5 July 1890 (P.C. 2873 of 1889), provided that comprehensive schedules of destruction be prepared for each department, with the collaboration of the Treasury Board and the sanction of the Privy Council.

This was not done, because the Treasury Board Secretary was too busy with other matters. Only with the departmental commissions of 1897 was the subject given a thorough airing, but in the meantime, a few schedules, more limited in scope, were approved by the Treasury Board, sometimes after changes had been made to them.

In 1890 was published the first calendar of the State Papers, Q Series. In 1891, the work of transcription in Paris started, using the reports of J. Marmette as a guide.

From 1892 to 1897, the work of copying continued in London and Paris. Searches were made in the Public Record Office, the Colonial Office, the British Museum, in the records of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Moravians or United Brethren. In 1895, on instructions, Dr. Brymner sent to Prime Minister Bowell a memorandum on record keeping in Europe, and his suggestions for Canada. He urged the necessity of a new building. He suggested that all documents prior to 1867 be transferred to the Archives.

The year 1897 was an eventful one for the Archives. In Paris, investigations were resumed by Mr. Richard, and the copying of documents continued under a French Archives official, Mr. Victor Tantet. In Ottawa, the fire which broke out in the West Block resulted in water damages to bindings and catalogues, but caused no loss of documents; also, it necessitated the transfer of the Archives to the Dept. of Agriculture building on Wellington Street, "in very small rooms". Finally, the Privy Council appointed a Departmental Commission consisting of the deputy-minister of Finance (John M. Courtney), the Auditor General (John L. McDougall), and the Under-Secretary of State (Joseph Pope) to report to the Treasury Board upon the state of the Public Records.

The Commission published its report in 1898. It pointed to the lack of uniformity and system in arranging and preserving records in the several departments. It suggested the centralization of public documents under the care of a Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records. It recommended the removal to a central office not only of all the documents found in the Archives and in the Records Branch of the Secretary of State (other than departmental files), but also of specific groups of records in several other departments.

The account given by the Commission of its visits to the different departments is very informative both on the state of the records and on the attitude of the deputy-ministers over their management and disposal.

In 1899, Edouard Richard published an important and voluminous report on documents concerning Canada in the Archives des Colonies and other French archives.

In 1902, Dr. Brymner died, after a long illness. His successor was to pay him this tribute:

"Students of Canadian history owe a debt of gratitude for the labours of the late Dr. Brymner, who, in face of difficulties . . . succeeded in gathering a collection of national papers which have opened up new fields of enquiry, have stimulated individual research, and have directed widespread attention to the value of records of the past. . . . His published reports of the Archives are yearly increasing in value and will remain as a monument to a competent and faithful public servant."

In 1903, the government decided to follow the recommendations of the Commission on Public Records and by an order in Council directed that the papers "be assembled in one place and put into the custody of one person, and so arranged and classified as to be easily accessible to all persons interested in them". It provided further: "That it shall be the duty of the said Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records, under the direction of the Minister of Agriculture, to keep and preserve the Archives of Canada and such other documents, records and data as may tend to promote a knowledge of the history of Canada and furnish a record of events of historical interest therein, and to that end and for the greater safety in their preservation and convenience in referring thereto, that the documents, records and papers mentioned and described in said Appendix "A" herein before referred to, and such others as may from time to time be determined by Your Excellency in Council, be collected from the several places in which they are now respectively deposited, and placed in the custody of the said Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records, who shall thereupon under the direction, as aforesaid, be the custodian thereof". This order in Council already contained in substance all the provisions of the Public Archives Act of 1912. It permitted the Archives to play an enlarged role in the much improved record keeping program.

Arthur Doughty, literary critic, historian and former assistant librarian of the Legislative Library in Quebec, was appointed Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records in May 1904. In his report for 1904, Doughty emphasized the importance of original documents in modern methods of historical writing. He saw the need for a national history, based upon the most ample documentary evidence. He also suggested that a systematic examination be made of the collections of documents to be found in the Dominion, and that a guide to the documentary sources existing in Canada be prepared, to facilitate research, prevent duplication, reduce inquiries. He announced that in this regard, arrangements had been made with Alexander Frazer, archivist of the newly formed Archives of Ontario, for exchange of information, and with Eudore Evanturel, archivist of the Province of Quebec, for copies of documents of interest. He further suggested that efforts be made to secure copies of documents in other countries, Italy, Spain, parts of France, for early periods of Canadian history.

In taking stock of the organization of the Archives when he took office, Doughty had some shortcomings to indicate: over one hundred volumes in M series had no relation with the Colonial Office; a whole series of State Papers had been transcribed from copies in Europe, while the original documents, in excellent condition, were in Canada but under the care of the Keeper of the Records; more than four hundred volumes were on the shelves which had not been mentioned in the annual reports.

His inspection of the methods used in Paris and London led Doughty to criticism and reorganization; he decided that annual reports should contain only a report on the documents examined and classified; that select documents of permanent value would be published and that the copying of documents already calendared would be completed as soon as possible. In France, he remarked that investigations had been sporadic, somewhat unorganized, and that only 223 volumes had been produced since 1873, in spite of good reports by Richard and others, partly because documents had been moved in the meantime. He made arrangements with Mr. Tantet, an official of the French Archives who had been supervising the work of the copyists without remuneration for nine years, to continue his work at a salary of \$500 a year.

But a greater reorganization was to be necessary at home, than in Europe. The Government had taken measures for the erection of a suitable fire-proof building where all documents were to be removed from their various repositories in Ottawa, according to the order-in-council of 1903. The problem, he stated, would be the arrangement of all those records. "As most of the records are unclassified and imperfectly assorted, the whole question will have to be treated *de novo*". While soliciting the suggestions of the members of the commission on Records, he tentatively indicated some possible course:

"Primarily, a distinction must be made between those documents which may already be considered as historical and those, comparatively unimportant at present, which will, however, possess interest in the future." He went on to propose that rooms be set apart for the more recent departmental records, where they would remain under the charge of an officer of the department to which the records belong.

In a different order, to encourage civil servants to do research at the Archives, he expressed his intention to open the office until 8 or 9 p.m. at least once a week during the winter months.

During the year 1904, the Archives had received the first consignment of records from the departments. The Secretary of State had transferred over half a million of documents. The Militia Department had sent two cases of papers relative to the War of 1812. The Interior Department had served notice that their records, mostly of British Engineers and containing many charts, would need 600 sq. ft. to receive them.

Much help had been received from the Governor General in persuading the British Government to give to Canada records concerning it: he had obtained the transfer of over 400 volumes of original despatches, instructions and other documents, which the Archivist described as "the most valuable collection of original documents in possession of the Archives".

In 1905, the investigation of historical sources in Canada had a good start. A summary of the archives found in the Island of Orléans was prepared as a model by Rev. P. M. O'Leary. Dr. James Hanney had completely covered Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton, at all levels of government,

and prepared a summary report on New Brunswick. Similar investigations were initiated in Western Canada by Mr. Laidlaw with the assistance of Dr. Bain, of the Toronto Public Library. Information had also been received on documents in the United States.

The indexing program was making headway. Some 300,000 cards had been prepared, but it was estimated that 15 million cards would be needed.

The Archives Building was completed in 1906. The documents and records of the Archives were transferred from its temporary (since 1897) quarters in the Langevin Building.

By an Order in Council dated April 17, 1907, an Historical Manuscripts Commission was established, so that "historical scholars of recognized attainments" might take part in "the task of shaping and executing a systematic plan" for the activities of the Archives. The members of the Commission were: the minister and deputy-minister of Agriculture, Adam Shortt, Abbé Gosselin, C. W. Colby, J. Edmond Roy, G. M. Wrong, and Arthur Doughty. Their functions were to decide on the classes of papers to be copied or purchased, to suggest methods for the publication of documents, to ascertain the nature and extent of historical documents in Canada, and to examine translations of the Archives reports.

The first meeting of the Commission was held on May 10, 1907. It was decided that priorities should be established and methods suggested for the work to be carried out. At subsequent meetings, a new classification of manuscripts was proposed, and it was recommended that inventories of all documents be prepared, and that documents, calendars, special reports etc. be published at irregular intervals, as bulletins.

The same year, was published the first volume, 1759-1791, of *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*. The work had been started in 1905. The documents were selected and edited by Adam Shortt, professor of political science at Queen's University, and by Arthur Doughty. "Documents had been selected sufficiently full and representative to all the constituent elements and interest of the country to furnish a basis for an intelligent and independent judgment."

Three divisions were created or formally recognized in the Office: one for manuscripts, one for maps, one for prints. A summary of the holdings was given in the report for the year.

The Manuscript Division had added no less than 11,077 volumes since 1903, placed in the following series:

D	Durham	12 vols.
E	Privy Council	1000 "
F	Finance Department	24 "
G	Governor General	572 "
GS	Governor General's Office	105 "
MD	Militia and Defence Department	70 "
C	Military papers, additional	968 "
F	French correspondence, additional	1149 "
M	Miscellaneous documents	327 "
S	State Department, Ottawa	7841 "
	Indian Affairs (220 surrenders plus)	9 "

The Maps division contained 4285 maps and charts, more than half of them being originals. Some 7,000 cards, indicating date, author and title, had been prepared.

The Prints Division had around 5,000 volumes and pamphlets. It had recorded all books relating to Canada, and indexed on cards articles on Canadian history appearing in newspapers and magazines. It had assembled the nucleus of a collection of prints and engravings reflecting Canadian life.

From 1908 to 1911, numerous additions were made to the holdings of all the divisions. The Archives received records from several departments, copies from London and Paris, manuscripts, maps, engravings, books and museum pieces, including the plan in relief of Quebec (c. 1800) by Duberger and a complete set of the *Gazette de Quebec*, 1764-1854.

Written inquiries were increasing, and 1,700 answers had been sent in 1908 alone. The documents were also much consulted, and in 1910, some 3,500 volumes had been used.

Mr. Laidlaw and Rev. Father O'Leary continued to send reports on historical sources in Canada. J. Edmond Roy had prepared a voluminous report on documents relating to Canada in French archives, which was published in 1910.

In 1909, an *Index to the Reports on the Canadian Archives, 1872-1908* was issued as Publication No. 1 of the Public Archives of Canada. It announced the preparation of an inventory of all the collections and stated:

"The inventory will be sufficiently descriptive and with the proper arrangement of documents will facilitate research until such time as a general index and catalogue are completed." The most severe handicap was the absence of a clear policy for the classification of documents. Of the classification scheme that the Historical Manuscript Commission was working on, only the very first division was indicated, namely, French Regime and English Regime. It was still believed that the documents should be placed in chronological order according to their subject-matter: it was not surprising that the task seemed an enormous one.

In 1911, eight students, appointed under a scholarship program inaugurated by the Government, conducted historical research at the Archives. They came from McGill, Queen's, Toronto, Laval, Ottawa, Manitoba, New Brunswick. The Archivist declared himself satisfied with the results achieved, in which he saw the complete justification of the experiment.

PART II: 1912-1958

In 1912, by an Act of Parliament, 2 Geo. V ch. 4, the Archives Branch of the Department of Agriculture was made into a separate department or office, the Public Archives of Canada. The Dominion Archivist, appointed by the Governor General in Council, was placed under the minister designated by the cabinet. He had power to acquire by purchase or otherwise manuscripts or other objects of historical significance for Canada; he was to receive records from the several departments; he had the "care, custody and control" of the Public Archives; he was to make them available through indexing, publishing, copying, etc.

Few changes were brought on by the Act, but it was symptomatic of the greater interest of the government in archives. In the Historical Commission, the Minister of Agriculture was replaced by the Secretary of State; the limit to the number of members was removed, and the Commission passed from nine to fourteen members. At a meeting of the Historical Manuscript Commission, held on the 16th of October, 1912, it was resolved that a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the state of the records of the several departments in order to save the material of historical value they contained. The minister agreed to the recommendation.

On Nov. 9, 1912, a Royal Commission was appointed, consisting of Sir Joseph Pope, E. F. Jarvis and Arthur Doughty. Its terms of reference were:

"... to inquire into the state of the records of the different departments of the Dominion, with a view of ascertaining the nature and extent of the records, their state of preservation; the use made of them in conducting public business; the state of the buildings and places wherein the documents are deposited; the space they occupy; the facilities of access thereto by the departments of the Government and by the public, and of the control exercised over the said records."

In 1913 and 1914, much of the energies of the Archivist were spent in connection with the Commission. Notable, in 1914, was the publication of the first guide to the Manuscript Room of the Public Archives, by D. W. Parker. The volume covered only the first part of the guide, but no subsequent volume was ever published.

The Commission presented its report on March 3, 1914. No less than 200 meetings and inspections had been held, from December 1912 to November 1913. Although short, the report was usually informative.

The Commission found that there were 127,219 linear feet of records, placed in 438 rooms. While current correspondence was generally well kept, older documents were found in attics, basements or corridors, exposed to dust, dampness and fire. Records over ten years old were seldom required, but periodical destruction of records was a regular practice for the Post Office, and the Department of Customs and Inland Revenue, but exceptional for others.

The recommendations of the Commission intended to achieve concentration and unity of control of records. A Public Record Office was suggested, as an extension of the Public Archives. All documents more than twenty-five years old would be transferred to the new Public Record Office; they would be examined by a permanent and independent commission in presence of one officer of the department concerned; all useless records would be destroyed with the permission of the Treasury Board.

The Commission also proposed the creation of a reference library of government publication in connection with the Public Record Office. This library would keep copies of all government publications; prepare a monthly list; print and distribute subject indexes; use photostat for reference service.

Unfortunately, little was done to implement those recommendations. The war began, and the activities of the Archives were curtailed, but the departments transferred a larger quantity of their records.

In January 1915, the Historical Manuscripts Commission adjourned *sine die*. It was replaced, on October 3, 1917, by the Historical Documents Publication Board, "with power to select and publish, with notes or otherwise as they deem best, documents concerned with the history and development of the constitution, trade, commerce, finance, industries and defence of Canada". It was composed of Adam Shortt, A. Doughty, C. W. Colby, Thomas Chapais and G. M. Wrong.

In the Spring of 1916, Doughty left for Europe on Archives business. He became interested in war trophies; he obtained from the French government a bi-plane and two 75 mm. field guns, from the British government the first gun captured by the Canadians at Ypres and at Vimy Ridge. He also collected mementoes and other trophies, as well as thousands of posters, pictures and souvenirs. Doughty exhibited his collection, which he estimated at \$200,000, in several cities of the United States and Canada, for the Red Cross. He was made, at his own request, comptroller of War Trophies.

On March 22, 1917, Doughty sent a confidential memorandum to the acting prime minister, Sir George Foster, in which he suggested a survey of the records created during the war. He proposed that the records be arranged according to the principle of provenance, and that the survey be conducted along the same lines, stating:

"It is now the practically universal agreement of archivists throughout the world that what is known as the *principe de la provenance* is the best system of classifying archives, both for the purposes of official reference and for those of historical investigation."

He then explained to the minister the principle in quoting from the report of the American Historical Association of 1910. If we contrast this categorical affirmation with the incertitudes expressed in 1904 and again in 1908 on the adoption of a system of classification, we see how much progress had been made.

By an Order in Council of April 10, 1917, Doughty was appointed to direct the work of the archives survey, with the assistance of Col. Wm. Wood and Major Lanctôt in Europe, the Archives staff in Canada.

Before he left, he placed before his minister a memorandum on the memorial intended for the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation. He suggested a building for the records relating to Confederation, illustrating the development of the country. He insisted also on the necessity for a Record Office, giving the recent fire which had destroyed the tower of Parliament as an example of the dangers of leaving records in non fire-proof buildings.

Some difficulties were encountered in the survey in Europe, for lack of authority. In Canada, the Archives staff, fully occupied with the exhibitions of war trophies all across the country, did not proceed very far with the survey: only two or three reports exist on the war archives of the federal government. But in 1918, Col. Wood surveyed the Quebec district as a typical example of provincial and local war archives and activities. Nevertheless, Dr. Doughty declared that the survey had served its purpose, which was to indicate the organization of the various offices and their records. In effect, it would seem that the report of the Overseas Minister for 1918 did provide the essential information, and rendered unnecessary the publication of the report of the survey.

During the year 1918, a great demand was experienced for the collection of trophies, and exhibitions were held in connection with war loans campaigns. In June, Doughty sent a memorandum to the minister on the disposition of the trophies. He strongly advocated the creation of a war museum, restricted to Canadian participation, but containing trophies, posters, pictures, books, maps, etc.

There was also a strong movement for a war memorial. A committee had been formed, composed of representatives from leading organizations. It was suggested that the memorial should consist of a practical but impressive building, and sketches were prepared for buildings adjoining the Archives to house the war trophies and the National Gallery and its war paintings.

But the grandiose plans elaborated in the midst of the national feeling and feverish activity of the war years were coldly scrutinized after the end of the conflict.

The government action went along very modest lines. It appointed, in December 1918, a commission to take charge of the war archives and trophies, and to make proposals for their permanent disposition: the Archivist and the deputy-minister of Militia and Defence were among the members. During the next few years, trophies were distributed in various centres, in part according to the number of enlistments in the area. A shed was erected next to the Archives to contain several of the pieces destined for the projected war museum; other pieces were kept in military stations, waiting for their final disposal. The war records remained in the Department of Militia and Defence, and the Historical Section of the Army proceeded to index them. The great projects had petered out.

But it became more and more evident to the Government that the Archives Building was unable to receive more accessions. By 1923, plans had been drawn to double the size of the Archives by the addition of a wing.

The years 1923-1924 were notable for the creation of societies of Canadian history in England and in France. Sir Campbell Stuart, a Canadian, but prominent in England, had the idea to unite in one association all important families in Europe connected with Canada, from its discovery. He enlisted the co-operation of Lady Minto, the Duke of Connaught, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Society of Canadian History was inaugurated in London at a dinner given to the Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King on November 7, 1923. It counted eighty members. It proposed to find historical documents and to publish historical works relating to Canada. A similar society was inaugurated in France, at a luncheon in the Palais de Versailles on October 28, 1924, under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic. The Duke of Lévis-Mirepoix was president, the Marquis of Montcalm was president of the council of families. The French society published ever two months, until 1932, a historical journal called *Nova Francia*, open to Canadians and Frenchmen as contributors.

In 1925, construction of the new wing of the Archives was started. It seemed opportune to publicize the holdings of the Archives. Doughty published a small book on the Archives and the creation of the Societies in France and England, which he titled: *The Canadian Archives and its activities* (Ottawa, 1925). H. P. Biggar wrote an article in the February and June issues of the Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research. Gustave Lanctôt wrote a pamphlet in 1926, *Les Archives canadiennes*.

The article by Biggar was particularly interesting as it listed all the collections of manuscripts, grouped according to type, whether private or public, original or transcript, and originating from Canada, France or England. Lanctôt listed several of the most interesting documents, and gave some idea of the extent of the holdings: the Manuscript Division had 30,000 volumes; the Map Section, over 20,000 maps and charts; the Picture Section, about 25,000 items, engravings being in the majority; the Library contained more than 30,000 volumes; the Museum Section cared for portraits, furniture, flags, and the model of Quebec.

In an effort to open new avenues to historians who had restricted their writing to political and military history, Adam Shortt published several volumes of documents relating to the finances of New France. During the same year, J. F. Kenney prepared the first catalogue of pictures of Canadian interest.

On May 12, 1926, Dr. Doughty was appointed, with a salary of \$3,000, chairman of a Public Records Commission composed of honorary members from all the provinces to help in the collecting of manuscripts for the Public Archives. More than anything else, it seemed to be an excuse to increase

the salary of Dr. Doughty, who, it was rumored, had received a very attractive offer from the Hudson's Bay Company.

The new wing was opened in December 1926. The ground floor was used by the Museum; the second by the Manuscript Division and the Library, and between the two "a comfortable room" had been furnished as a search room for the "students"; the Map and Picture Sections, and the war pictures, occupied the third floor. It led to some reorganization of the divisions or sections.

In 1927, a bill had been drafted for presentation by the Prime Minister; it was to extend the role of the archives in the field of government records. But it was never introduced.

In 1929, at the occasion of the opening of the Minto room in the Museum, acknowledging the influence of Lord Minto in the erection of the Archives Building, Doughty remarked that there was again a scarcity of space:

"Twenty-five years ago, when I entered upon my duties as Dominion Archivist, the collections were deposited in a single room in the Langevin Building, but in the interval, the accumulation of material has been so extensive that the new Archives Buildings are inadequate for the convenient storage of records."

It would therefore seem advisable to examine the state of the records in Ottawa with a view of ascertaining what space is required for their storage."

The same year, supporting the remarks of the Archivist, a memorial was presented to the minister by a group of historians, urging the creation of a Public Record Office, and the transfer to it of the old records of the various departments. They suggested that the Record Office be closely related to the Archives.

This lack of space was again made evident the next year, when the Archives were forced to refuse the transfer of some 1,000,000 files of the First World War from the Department of National Defence. But the Archives had to follow a policy of retrenchment. In 1931, the offices in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were closed, and the Board of Historical Publications was allowed to dissolve, with the death of its chairman Adam Shortt.

In his annual report for 1933, the Archivist wrote a plea in favour of the Archives, and a bid for a larger budget:

"For well over a century, literary inquirers have turned to the Government for historical material to interpret the wonderful story of Canada. The process of collecting records to meet the demand was necessarily slow because financial aid was small. Thirty years ago, as a result of hard work on the part of my predecessor, 3155 volumes of historical material were in the National Archives, 1062 volumes of which related to military matters of comparatively recent date.

A determined effort was then made to prove that the principal function of the Archives is not merely to meet the requests of private individuals or even of educational institutions, but to keep and preserve the records for the proper conduct of public business and the accurate determination of dominion, provincial, municipal and individual rights. The commercial value of the records to the nation and to the business man was recognized and financial support was provided. In the annals of the courts during the last twenty-five years, there is abundant evidence that vast sums have been saved to the nation as well as to the public by the timely production of documents, surveys, maps and plans at one time considered worthless.

The great monetary value to the Government and private citizens of the material rescued from destruction is apt to be overlooked by those who use the Archives solely for historical purposes. Nevertheless it is the duty of the Archivist to bear it in mind and to shape his policy, in the acquirement, arrangement and classification of the records, in accord with all the needs which a Department of Public Archives should meet."

Few people are aware of the work which is carried on in the Archives or of the conditions that large quantities of records were in, a quarter of a century ago. Hundreds of thousands of documents now in excellent state of preservation, in portfolios or neatly bound volumes, were received in a dirty, dilapidated state, and before they were safe to handle, had to be cleaned, pressed and repaired. Thousands of maps that seemed fit only for the rubbish heap have been skilfully treated, and with care will last indefinitely. Much of this one-time discarded material is now a most valuable national asset."

In 1935, a new War Museum Board was created to take charge of the war trophies. It was decided to transform the shed where the trophies had been stored for more than ten years into a museum. The Archives retained the direction of the trophies, and the Department of National Defence continued to pay the expenses.

On March 22, Dr. Doughty retired, at the age of seventy-five years. The Government conferred on him the title of *Dominion Archivist Emeritus*, and he was knighted on June 3. Dr. Kenney was designated as acting Dominion Archivist.

In his first report, Dr. Kenney pleaded for more staff and more space. Between January 1931 and December 1935, he pointed out, no less than twelve members of the staff, six of whom were in senior positions, had left the Archives, because of death or retirement, and only one, a copyist, had been hired. As for the building, it was unsuited for storage, and had no more room:

"Until further storage accommodation is provided, the Department is, therefore, precluded from the full discharge of its primary duty of taking over the departmental records in normal process as these are no longer required in the service of their respective departments. May I express the hope that Canada may not lose the eminence in archival circles she once attained by reason of her care of her older public records and of her policy of concentrating them in one building and under one control."

In 1936, a bill was drafted to make the Public Archives a real Public Record Office, and holder of copyright deposits. Mr. Vieu was to introduce the bill, but it never was. Instead, to solve the storage problem, the Department of Public Works prepared plans for a records building at the Experimental Farm, and the Treasury Board issued a minute instructing the departments on how to proceed to get authorization for destruction of records: implicitly, it reaffirmed the principle, which probably had its first statutory definition by 30 Geo. III, cap. 8 (1790), that the executive has the right over the disposal of records.

Dr. Kenney's remarks were repeated, more bluntly, by the *Canadian Historical Review*, in 1937: "This review has, on several occasions, deplored the persistent failure in Canada to show any adequate appreciation of the importance of such institutions as a national library and a national archives . . . It is no reflection on the magnificent work done by Dr. Doughty in the Archives to say that at the present moment Canada is far from being in the position she should be with regard to institutions of the type which has been mentioned. This is, in fact, putting the case mildly and it should be a matter of regret and humiliation. At a time when much is being said of the growth of a Canadian consciousness and culture, may we urge on those in authority with all seriousness the claims of national library and archival collections as a consideration of national importance."

Mr. Gustave Lanctôt, "a recognized scholar and noted historian" was appointed Dominion Archivist on November 26, 1937.

His first efforts were directed toward making necessary changes. He reorganized the staff and their duties, "permitting a better distribution of the work, a greater expedition of research, and a more systematic classification of the collections".

Among the practical results were some house cleaning in the basement where papers had been allowed to accumulate, the distribution of duplicate books to Lady Tweedsmuir's Prairie Library and to the troops, a decision to stop the preparation of calendars, when those started were completed, and to concentrate on a complete catalogue of the manuscripts, and finally the creation of a new division, called Technical Auxiliary Services. The new division controlled the bindery, photography, restoration and museum. The division acquired recordings, and made exchanges with the C.B.C. and the Motion Picture Bureau.

In 1938, the Central Records Storage Building opened under the control of the Department of Public Works. But without facilities for reference and with too small a staff, the servicing of the records was inadequate; the war soon put an end to the experiment, with the requisitioning of the building.

The Archivist was given some secondary responsibilities in 1939. He was named chairman of the Military Museum Board which transformed the trophy building into a permanent museum. He was also appointed official historian of the royal tour.

But with the war, another period of diminished activity started. In 1940, the budget of the Archives was cut from \$173,435 to \$144,410. The staff, already depleted by the death of H. P. Biggar and the retirement of F. J. Audet in 1938, was further reduced when archivists left for service in the armed forces. The Paris Office closed, and key files were deposited in the U.S. Embassy.

In 1941, the war trophies, which had seemed so important twenty years before, and had been gathered with so much labour, were sold or treated as salvage in virtue of an order in council. Ironically enough, Mr. Lanctôt, who had had their safe-keeping during the First World War as deputy-comptroller, was now to preside over their rather ignominious disposal in his capacity as chairman of the Military Museum Board.

The War Museum was officially opened in January 1942. During the first year, over 24,000 visitors were received. The Archives, on the other hand, gave space in their building to branches of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.

The following year, the Archives started planning post-war activities: publication of pamphlets, use of microphotography, and in co-operation with the Universities, courses for those contemplating careers as teachers, archivists and librarians.

In 1944, the library began its reorganization and adopted the classification of the Library of Congress. A reorganization was also under way in the manuscript division.

In 1945, by Order in Council, a Public Records Committee was organized, under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State. Its object was the systematic preservation of government records and the transfer of obsolete files to the Archives from other departments. Its main activity was to recommend to the Treasury Board the destruction of the records having no more administrative value and judged to be of no historical value.

After the war, several members of the staff returned from the armed forces, and the Paris office reopened.

In 1948, Dr. Lanctôt retired, after thirty-five years of service, and Mr. Norman Fee, the assistant Dominion Archivist, became acting Head. In the same year, Dr. William Kaye Lamb was appointed Dominion Archivist and charged with the setting up of the National Library.

Dr. Lamb has given an account of his tenure in his presidential address before the Canadian Historical Association in 1958. We will limit ourselves to some of the highlights of the last decade.

The Massey Commission had expressed certain criticisms and suggestions concerning the Archives. It pointed to the necessity of a new building to be used as a Record Office, and favoured the transfer of pictures and display documents to a historical and scientific museum the creation of which it recommended.

No such action was taken in regard to the museum pieces and the pictures: a modernization of the museum is now under way, and no transfer of the pictures is envisaged at this time.

But much has been done in the field of public records. In the Spring of 1950, the Government decided to construct a rather modest building for departmental records. This was soon changed and a much larger building planned. In December 1955, the Public Records Centre was completed, with a floor space of some four acres. The storage provided at the Centre for rarely used files of the departments permits the departments to follow a systematic policy in their record management. Since its creation, the Centre has brought about a revolution in the record-keeping practice of the departments which, more and more, utilize its services for storage, reference and disposal. In 1957, the Public Records Association published, with the approval of the Public Record Committee, suggested periods of retention for records of internal administration. This, we believe is the first step towards a comprehensive record management program for the public records.

The use of microfilming and microfilms has also considerably changed some aspects of the work performed by the Archives. Microfilming was introduced in place of copying in London and Paris, and increased enormously the quantity of documents rendered available each year, besides giving an absolutely accurate duplicate of the originals. Microphotography has also been used to obtain facsimile of the records of the Hudson's Bay Co. as well as those of the American Fur Co., and of missionary societies, of the papers of former Governors General, Secretaries for the Colonies, and of innumerable bodies of papers, large and small, of which it was impossible to obtain

the originals. Microfilms have also been used for loans to searchers, and as a surety measure against the loss or destruction of the originals in case of very important series.

But most important for the historian has been the very considerable number of accessions received during the last ten years. The collections of maps and pictures have increased consistently at a high rate. But it is probably the collections of manuscripts which have grown the most rapidly.

In 1949, war pictures were removed from a large room on the third floor of the building, to make place for Post-Confederation records and manuscripts, nearly doubling the space allotted to the Manuscript Division. The Post-Confederation room is now practically full, so great has been the accession of records and private and corporate papers of relatively recent date.

The vast quantity of records and papers received has led to the preparation of "preliminary inventories" which succinctly describe the documents or series of documents of a department, in the case of a Record Group, or of papers of individuals, companies, organizations concerning a period or a subject, in the case of a Manuscript Group.

The first preliminary inventory, Record Group 10, Indian Affairs, was published in 1951. Nearly thirty have now been published, and possibly thirty more will be published in the next few years to complete the description of the holdings of the Archives.

Other activities and responsibilities of the Archives in the past decade are worth mentioning.

A Bibliographic Centre was organized in 1950. It was, in 1952, transformed into the National Library, and Dr. Lamb was appointed National Librarian in addition to Dominion Archivist.

Laurier House, given to the nation by the late Prime Minister King in his will, was put under the control of the Archivist in 1951 and opened as a museum on August 1st of that year.

In 1954, agreements were reached with the trustees of the estate of Mackenzie King, with the Department of Northern Affairs and with the Brome County Historical Society. The King papers were placed in the custody of the Archivist, to become the property of the Archives on July 22, 1975. The Department of Northern Affairs agreed to transfer to the Archives all records and relics of historical interest found in the Arctic. The Historical Society of Brome County consented to have its collections microfilmed by the Archives, and the inventory of their archives was edited and published; similar agreements were also entered into with other local historical societies.

And finally, in the Summer of 1959, the Archives gave, in collaboration with Carleton University, a three-week course on archives principles and techniques, which was attended by eighteen persons interested in archives coming from all parts of the country.

The Archives provides, at the moment, extensive facilities for historians, scholars and government departments; consultation is made as easy as possible, inquiries both oral and written are answered, photographic reproductions are supplied, microfilms are loaned, and dormant records are cared for at the Records Centre.

Overcrowding in the main building is still a major problem. And it is evident that certain fields have been neglected, for more pressing problems. The abandonment, ten years ago, of the publication of documents has been keenly felt by historians and the general public. Educational services have yet to be organized. In the near future, we hope, the Public Archives will be in a position to remedy these shortcomings and enlarge the usefulness of the documentary sources of which it is the custodian.

This historical sketch might be termed the internal story of the Archives. The evaluation of its activities and influence remains to be done. But, on the whole, we feel that, through the eighty-seven years of its existence, the Archives has rendered a real service to the nation. Though its financial resources have generally been modest, it has done a good deal to safeguard and assemble the records of our national life. It has played a significant role in the development of the social sciences, and helped crystallize Canadian consciousness.

Steel Shelving for Record Storage

BY JEFFERY R. EDE, M.A.

THERE ARE various materials which have most of the qualities desirable in shelving designed for record storage: unfortunately none has all. Timber, although it can be chemically "fireproofed", will probably be rejected by the prudent archivist; but steel, aluminium alloy,¹ concrete and reinforced moulded plastic are all, in theory, materials from which satisfactory shelving could be made. In practice, however, the archivist is unlikely to have to make any comparative judgement between competing materials, because his choice will normally be limited to shelving made of steel, for the simple reason that for a given degree of strength and rigidity steel is much cheaper than anything except, perhaps, timber.

As the production of standardized parts in quantity is the paramount factor in keeping cost down, it follows that any shelving which has to be specially made is likely to be prohibitively expensive; unless, of course, it can be produced in a sufficiently large quantity to compensate the maker for his capital outlay in new tools, etc. Thus, for example, the non-standard shelving (utilising T-section uprights) in the Public Record Office² could not be ordered economically in small quantities. It is unfortunate that there is not—and probably never will be—a sufficient demand by record repositories for shelving to make it worth while for manufacturers to produce a standard range of adjustable steel shelving specifically designed to meet the ideal requirements of the archivist. Unless, therefore, he is in the enviable position of being able to afford an installation specially tailored to his individual requirements, he has to make do with shelving which was primarily designed to appeal to a much wider market. In effect the choice lies between shelving made principally for industrial storage (for which there is a large and continuous demand) and shelving made for library storage (for which the demand, although relatively small, is sufficient to interest a few specialist manufacturers). Within these two broad categories of shelving the archivist can choose between conventional static shelving, of which there are a number of types ranging in cost from the cheap to the very expensive, and mobile shelving designed for compact storage, of which at least two improved systems have been developed recently. While the number of manufacturers who make stock lines of library shelving is small, a large number of firms manufacture general-purpose shelving, which is used mainly for industrial storage, and many of these also have the technical resources to produce almost any kind of shelving to a customer's individual specification. The names of some of the principal manufacturers of adjustable steel shelving are given as an Appendix.

Before attempting a brief description and evaluation of the main types of shelving which are in production, one or two general observations and reservations must be made. In the first place, any estimates of comparative cost given should be regarded with caution. Obviously the cost per linear foot of shelving in a large bulk order will be less—possibly considerably so—than in a small order; and the more expensive the shelving the more this is true. Moreover, because of fluctuations in trading conditions, recurrent shortages of steel, and the general economics of supply and demand, it would be unwise for archivist A to assume that he will be quoted the same price as that paid by archivist B for a similar quantity of identical shelving. For these reasons it would be difficult and, perhaps, misleading to attempt to draw up a tabular analysis of the cost per foot-run of the different makes of shelving. Secondly, it should be born in mind that while component parts are usually manufactured in a range of standard sizes (which can unfortunately vary between two types of shelving), variations from the standard to suit special requirements are often possible—at a price—by arrangement between purchaser and manufacturer. Thus, for example, shelves or uprights can usually be reinforced to take exceptionally heavy loads.³ Finally, any figures quoted below do not take into account the cost of erection which will add 10–15% to the cost of shelving.

¹ Shelving of aluminium alloy has been used in the Caernarvonshire County Record Office and is described in *Archives*, No. 2, by W. Ogwen Williams. The circumstances of this installation were, however, rather exceptional.

² This shelving is discussed by D. B. Wardle in *Archivum*, Vol. 7, pp. 27–28.

³ Particulars of the safe loading of shelves and bays are normally supplied by manufacturers.

STATIC SHELVING

It will be convenient to distinguish three broad types of static adjustable steel shelving:

1. General Purpose or Industrial Shelving

In 1955 the British Standards Institute published a revised specification (B.S. 826: 1955) of a range of adjustable steel shelving suitable for the storage of a wide variety of commodities. The essence of this shelving is that it can be assembled from a wide range of standard parts to suit individual needs. A bay (i.e. a basic unit of shelving complete in itself) consists of four vertical angle-post uprights (of section $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.) supporting the required number of flat shelves⁴ which are adjustable on 1 in. centres by means of holes drilled in both flanges of the uprights. The shelves are attached to the uprights at eight points by means of bolts and nuts, each corner of a shelf being bolted to both flanges of the angle upright. Bays can be fitted back-to-back to provide double-sided shelving and any number of bays, whether single or double-sided, can be lined together to form stacks. Further rigidity is imparted by the provision of flat cross braces at sides and back.⁵

This is one of the cheapest and strongest forms of adjustable steel shelving, the cost of a bay 7 ft. 3 in. high by 3 ft. wide, with top, base and six intermediate shelves 15 in. deep, and cross braces, being in the region of £5. 16s. od. The open sides and backs allow air to circulate freely; and, as it is unnecessary to use back braces for every bay, it would be possible in some bays to utilise the full depth of two shelves set back-to-back to provide cheap storage for rolled maps and for large maps and other documents which it is desirable to store flat. This shelving has, however, two major disadvantages. In the first place, the shelves are not quickly adjustable, it being necessary to unscrew eight nuts every time a shelf is moved. This need not, however, be a serious drawback where an accurate forecast can be obtained of the dimensions of documents for which storage space is to be allotted and the distances between the shelves can be regulated while the bays are being erected. The second disadvantage is that documents are liable to catch against the projecting flange of the angle-post uprights and against the ends of bolts. It is possible, however, with single-tier shelving to substitute non-standard uprights of flat section for the standard angle-post front uprights. Although these "flats" have to be specially made and the cost of the shelving is thereby increased, such a modification is well worth while.

A number of firms manufacture a type of light industrial shelving which, while employing many of the standard components, substitutes uprights of solid sheet steel, with a tubular or squared front edge, for the standard angle-post uprights. The beaded or squared front avoids the snags of the flanged upright, but, on the debit side, circulation of air is impeded by the solid sheet steel. This would, however, matter little where conditions of storage were consistently good; and this shelving has been found quite satisfactory by the archivist of the British Transport Commission. Manufacturers of such shelving, which is suitable for single-tier storage only, include the Roneo, Sankey-Sheldon, Evertaut and Acrow Companies, who guarantee a safe loading of shelves varying from 100 to 150 lbs. Its cost in a bulk order is slightly less than that of the heavier angle-post shelving, because of the saving achieved in the sharing by adjoining bays of a common sheet upright.

Finally, mention must be made of shelving of the slotted angle type, an ingenious constructional development which was patented in this country some twelve years ago by the Dexion Company.⁶ It has been used in the new Taunton repository of the Somerset County Record Office and archivists who attended the Society's Annual Conference at Taunton in May, 1959, will be familiar with it and have read with interest the County Archivist's memorandum on the equipment of his new building.⁷ The Dexion product, which is manufactured in 10 ft. angle lengths with a choice of four different sections (known as 300, 225, 140 and 112), depending on the load to be carried, differs from the standard angle-post shelving described above in that the perforations in the angle lengths are a permutation of holes of varying shapes—round, ovoid and transverse ovoid—and (in the Dexion 300 and 225) of slots, the positioning of holes and slots being designed to provide easy adjustment in

⁴ The shelves have a box formation at front and back, as do the shelves in the other types of shelving reviewed below.

⁵ Solid sides and backs should, if possible, be avoided. Ends of stacks can, if necessary, be filled in with wire mesh panels.

⁶ Rubery, Owen & Co. Ltd., Acrow (Engineers) Ltd. and possibly other firms now manufacture a modified form of slotted angle shelving.

⁷ I am indebted to Mr. Ivor Collis for some informative comments on this shelving.

close increments combined with maximum rigidity. Lengths can be cut easily to the required size with a special cutter and can be joined to each other by splicing and over-lapping. Dexion 225 shelving was chosen by the Somerset County Archivist primarily because of its great adaptability. Mr. Collis first made a rack to hold map-rolls and this suggested that lengths of Dexion spaced one behind the other 10 in. apart across the width of a bay of 6 ft. span⁸ in place of solid shelves would be suitable for the storage of large boxes of deposited documents. He was, secondly, concerned to bridge over stairs and gangways in order to make the maximum use of every cubic inch of space; and he found that off-cuts of Dexion could be used up economically in this way and also that there were numerous other uses (e.g. the construction of fumigation and library trolleys) to which the material, supplemented by one or two accessories, could be put. It was, furthermore, easily erected on the "do-it-yourself" principle and permitted excellent circulation of air and natural illumination. The final deciding factor in its choice was that whereas the average cost of a double-entry 6 ft. bay erected in the manner described above was £16, an equivalent amount of the cheapest conventional shelving would have cost considerably more. Mr. Collis is, however, at pains to point out that there is no saving in cost if Dexion is used (as it can be) with 3 ft. solid shelves, even though with this method of construction the lighter 140 uprights could be substituted for Dexion 225: nor, it may be added, is there any saving if chip-board shelves (as suggested by the Dexion Co.) are used. Nobody, therefore, will quarrel with his conclusion that any recommendation for the use of slotted angle shelving depends on the nature of the documents to be stored. Quite clearly the 6 ft. double-entry bays on the Taunton pattern would not be suitable for the storage of volumes or smaller (e.g. 15 in. by 10 in. by 4 in.) boxes, for which the conventional shelving is better adapted; but, such is the versatility of slotted angle shelving, that many archivists will be glad to make limited use of it for various purposes.

It remains to be said that installations of both the standard and slotted angle shelving can be extended upwards to two or three floors; and upper floors (with staircases) constructed of open mesh or chequer plate steel can be carried on cantilever supports bolted to the uprights and reinforced, if necessary, by auxiliary steelwork. The Public Record Office intermediate repository at Hayes, Middlesex, provides an interesting example of a large 3-tier installation of standard angle-post shelving.

2. Library Shelving with sheet panel uprights

Where cost is the governing factor the archivist will probably have to make do with one of the ranges of industrial shelving already described, accepting the inconvenience of projecting flanges and the "nut and bolt" adjustment of shelves. If, however, circumstances are such that these disadvantages weigh heavily and cost becomes a secondary consideration, a practical alternative is afforded by library shelving which utilises sheet panel uprights. These are normally perforated at front and back with holes on 1 in. centres; the cornice and base are bolted to the uprights, while the intermediate shelves are supported either on four lugs or on twin bearers which engage in the holes. This ensures ease and speed of adjustment and flanges and projections from nuts and bolts are entirely eliminated. A variant of this type has the uprights slotted to receive shelves, the slots being formed to retain the shelves after insertion in a manner that prevents the shelf sliding forward when documents are withdrawn.

The cheapest library shelving has uprights made of single sheet panels (similar to the uprights of the "beaded" light industrial shelving described above) with a tubular front edge, and flanges at the back for strength and the attachment of cross braces: but, in order to permit shelves in adjacent bays to be set at the same intervals, the holes in each upright have to be duplicated. This detracts from their appearance⁹ and must to some extent weaken their rigidity; but two firms (Libraco Ltd. and Evertaut Ltd.), who manufacture stock lines of the single panel shelving, claim a load carrying capacity of at least 120 lbs. for each shelf. According to the current catalogues of these two firms a 3 ft. bay with six intermediate 12 in. shelves would cost in the region of £8 to £8. 10s. od.

⁸ Thus eliminating one set of uprights. A double entry bay on the Somerset pattern (7 ft. high by 6 ft. wide by 3 ft. deep) needs only four uprights and no cross braces. Moreover, adjoining bays in a stack share common uprights. A disadvantage, however, is that if lengths of Dexion used as bearers are substituted for solid shelves, a 1 in. thick shelf is replaced by a 2½ in. flange and the height of the shelving needs to be increased proportionately.

⁹ End panels can be supplied to give stacks a more finished appearance.

Another—and only slightly more expensive—type of library shelving employs sheet uprights of double construction, thereby providing greater strength and much improved appearance. Moreover, if a multi-tier installation is required, a separate structural framework consisting of posts of cruciform section¹⁰ can be provided to carry the floors, which may be either of concrete poured *in situ* or of solid steel chequer plate or open grid construction. The Quadrant building in the British Museum provides a good illustration of a multi-tier installation of this kind. As compared with the single panel shelving described above additional space is taken up by the width of the double panel uprights, and there is a possibility that these might harbour dirt and insects; but, in general, the latter shelving seems a better proposition. Its cost can be as low as £8–£9 a bay (with 12 in. shelves); but more can be paid for some ranges which have a high standard of finish and appearance. The cost would, of course, be greater if deeper shelves were required.

The slotted variant mentioned earlier is rather more expensive. It has the advantage that no loose parts are required for adjustment of shelves; but this refinement hardly justifies the extra cost. This shelving is said to be in little demand to-day.

3. Library Shelving of the bracket type

This is a simple and economic form of shelving, the shelves being supported on brackets the fronts of which are hitched by means of hooks on to strong pressed steel central uprights of box section (constructed of two channels spot-welded). The uprights are perforated on 1 in. centres and base and cornice plates and end panels can be provided. Free-standing stacks must have either diagonal bracing or lateral supports overhead. The uprights can be made with sufficient strength to carry the loads of many floors above,¹¹ the floors (which can be of concrete or steel) being supported on cleats bolted to the uprights. Multi-tier installations of bracket shelving have been successfully erected even in old buildings, in which it has been possible to retain the old floors and joists and to position between the joists the steel uprights which carried the real floors supporting the shelving. The great disadvantage of all multi-tier installations is, of course, that the position of the uprights is irrevocably fixed and once space has been allocated for record storage it cannot conveniently be converted to other uses. The multi-tier stack of the bracket type is in this respect less flexible than the "sheet panel" shelving described above, where the separate steelwork does permit rather more flexibility because the stanchions can be wider spaced.

On the credit side, the central uprights of box section ensure much better circulation of air than the sheet panel uprights and the tray-like shelves are very easily adjustable, it being a simple matter for two people to move a shelf without removing the documents. Bracket shelving is primarily a popular method of storage for library material; there is, however, nothing to prevent its use for record storage, and, while it would be particularly suitable for the storage of volumes, there is no reason, except for untidiness of appearance, why shelves in a bay should not be of varying depth if desired. Because less sheet steel is used, with a consequent saving in enamelling, the cost of bracket shelving is rather less than of other kinds of library shelving. The best-known specialist manufacturers of bracket shelving in this country are probably Luxfer Ltd., who are licencees of the American Sneed Co. (since 1958 a subsidiary of the Globe-Wernicke Co.); but the Roneo, Sankey Sheldon and Libraco Companies—and, perhaps, other firms—also make this shelving if the size of the contract makes it worth their while.

MOBILE SHELVING

Many repositories are confronted with the dilemma of how to accommodate future accessions with insufficient storage space available. Whereas the long-term solution must depend on the extension of existing buildings or the construction of new ones, some interim relief may be obtained by the more economic use of existing accommodation, involving (where floor construction permits the added load) the substitution of mobile shelving specially designed for compact storage in place of

¹⁰ *i.e.* vertical stanchions of up to 12 ft. pitch, enclosed in the double panel uprights, carrying cross beams enclosed by the top members of the stack, which in turn carry the flooring.

¹¹ It is important to make quite sure that a multi-tier installation is permissible under local bye-laws.

existing static shelving. A number of ingenious systems of compact storage have been developed in recent years and the guiding principle of most of them is that individual stacks are set close together (thereby eliminating much wasted gangway space) and made moveable in some way so that all parts can be reached. The following three types, the first two of which are extensively used for industrial storage, are likely to be of particular interest to archivists:

1. Rolling presses moving sideways on rails

Since before the war a few repositories have been equipped with "rolling presses", i.e. rows of mobile units (bays) of single-sided shelving placed on rails, each unit being independently mounted on a wheeled base which runs on steel tracks that can be screwed to an existing floor. One unit is left out in each row for operating space and the rows are set close behind each other, access to the inner rows (the last of which is normally fixed) being obtained by moving the mobile units sideways to the required position. The firms J. Glover and Sons Ltd. and Acrow (Engineers) Ltd. manufacture units of this type and the tracks that go with them, or will undertake to mobilise existing fixed shelving with the object of making a saving in storage space of 50-80%. Mobile units are normally assembled from the standard components (angle-post uprights, etc.) of the static industrial shelving described above, but there is no reason why library shelving components should not, if desired, be used. Its use would, of course, mean a much more expensive installation, as adjoining bays would not be able to share common uprights.

2. Ingold-Compactus Mobile Shelving

In 1949 a Swiss engineer named Ingold invented and patented the "Ingold-Compactus" system of compact storage, for which the sole manufacturing licencees in Great Britain and the Commonwealth are Messrs. Glover. This system mobilizes double-sided stacks (made up of whatever type of shelving is desired) up to 21 ft. long, small stacks of up to 9 ft. length being operated by hand and larger stacks by means of a $\frac{1}{4}$ -h.p. electric motor. The stacks (i.e. the rows) are each mounted on a wheeled base and arranged face to face in a solid block, with a vacant space, the width of a gangway, left in each block. The smaller hand-operated stacks run on grooved rails in the same way as do the rolling presses described above; but stacks longer than 6 ft. move on flat rails, with guide channels laid parallel to the tracks, in which horizontal ball-race rollers fixed to the bases run, so as to keep the stacks square at all times. For the power-operated stacks an open channel is sunk in the floor, midway between the rails, in which runs a wire cable operated by the small motor. Wheel tracks and guide channels can be fixed straight on to existing concrete floors, but more often than not prefabricated portable floors are supplied in sections incorporating all accessory tracks and channels. At the end of each power-operated stack are levers which grip the moving cable, operation of which causes the stacks to move forwards or backwards in the required direction at the rate of 20 ft. per minute, enabling a gangway to be opened at the desired point in the block. Movement of the stacks can be checked by the hand (causing the rope to slip on the driving wheel) so that there is no danger of a person at the shelves being crushed by someone else wishing to have access at another point. Installations can be supplied with covers on top, solid sides and rubber beading round the edges, to exclude dirt and give a measure of protection against fire; and the stacks are lockable. Whether air circulation would in such circumstances be adequate is, of course, questionable; and it might be more prudent to eschew the advantages just mentioned in favour of an Ingold-Compactus installation which employs open shelving and avoids solid sides and backs.

The Ingold-Compactus system clearly is an improvement on the rolling presses described above. Indeed the saving in storage space is almost doubled, because the use of blocks of double-sided stacks, each consisting of up to six double bays linked together and mounted on a chassis, the whole running on four tracks with two guide channels, is clearly more effective and economic than the use of individual single-sided bays each one of which has to be mounted separately on a base with four wheels. It is difficult to give any precise information about relative costs,¹² but such figures as have been obtained suggest that whereas the mobile rolling presses with track and floor accessories might cost rather more than twice as much as static shelving of the same type, the cost of an Ingold-Compactus

¹² An article by F. J. Hill on *The compact storage of books: a study of methods and equipment* in Vol. XI of the *Journal of Documentation* supplies some tentative figures as to the relative saving in space and cost of two types of movable shelving.

installation giving the same storage capacity in a much reduced floor area would not be any greater, and, if hand-operated, would be less.

3. The American Snead system of Compact Storage

This system is of special interest in that, although it can be used for industrial storage, it has greater application for the compact storage of books and documents. Basically the Snead system, which has been little used in this country, consists of a triple bank of double-sided adjustable steel shelving, with a fixed centre row of double-sided bays having affixed to each face a row of hinged double-sided bays. There are thus six layers of shelving between gangways and each outer bay can be easily swung outwards like a door into the gangway to afford access to the inner shelving. It is possible to equip a building initially with conventional fixed stacks which, when the need for additional storage space arises, will form the nucleus for compact storage with Snead Swinging Cases. The shelving used—it is manufactured in this country by Luxfer Ltd.—can be either the bracket or sheet panel library shelving described above; and in a new building designed for multi-tier storage strong vertical pillars on which the swinging cases are pivoted can be incorporated in the structure of the building to support the floors. The new "Louis-Philippe" repository of the Archives Nationales in Paris affords an excellent example of a Snead Compact Storage multi-tier installation, effecting a saving of 50% in storage space. The basic cost of the shelving components for such an installation (using the cheaper bracket stacks) would be about the same as in an Ingold-Compactus installation, but the cost of assembly might be greater.

All the above systems of compact storage, ingenious and space-saving as they are, have, however, certain limitations. In the first place they are not suitable for records of large size and awkward shape: no document may protrude over the edge of the shelves and there is also a danger of documents being damaged if they have not been replaced correctly on the shelves. Secondly, the records are not quickly accessible, although there is markedly less sacrifice of accessibility with the Snead system. Thirdly, ventilation is a difficult problem and it might be necessary to make provision for air-conditioning. Fourthly, the movement of heavy racks might cause disturbing vibration and noise in a building; and it is inevitable that the cost of maintenance and repair of compact storage equipment will be higher than that of fixed shelving, particularly as its age increases. Finally, the initial cost of compact storage is high and, save in exceptional circumstances, its use will only be justified when there is a corresponding saving in other directions. In this connexion, factors to be taken into account include not merely the cost of land and new building, but also the recurrent expenditure on maintenance charges such as rates, heating and lighting.

It would not be surprising if, after a careful analysis of all relevant factors, more archivists decided to emulate the County Record Offices of Middlesex, Hertfordshire and East Suffolk, where the provision of a small mobile space-saving installation has—if not solved—at any rate postponed an accommodation crisis.

APPENDIX

The following list of some of the principal manufacturers of adjustable steel shelving does not claim to be comprehensive. Many of the firms named below have been good enough to supply information which has been used in this paper.

Acrow (Engineers) Ltd., Rolstore Division, South Wharf, Paddington, London, W.2.
Art Metal Construction Co. Ltd., 199-203 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.
Chatwood-Milner Ltd., 58 Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.1.
Constructors Ltd., Tyburn Road, Erdington, Birmingham, 24.
Dexion Ltd., 65 Maygrove Road, London, N.W.6.
Evertaut Ltd., Walsall Road, Perry Barr, Birmingham, 22B.
J. Glover and Sons Ltd., Grotton Road, London, S.W.18.
G. A. Harvey & Co. (London) Ltd., Woolwich Road, London, S.E.7.

Libraco Ltd., Lombard Wall, Woolwich Road, London, S.E.7.
Luxfer Ltd., Waxlow Road, Harlesden, London, N.W.10.
Roneo Ltd., Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.
Rubery, Owen & Co. Ltd., Industrial Storage Equipment Division, Whitegate, Wrexham, N. Wales.
Sankey Sheldon Ltd., 46 Cannon Street, London, E.C.4.
Vickers-Armstrongs (Engineers) Ltd., Dartford, Kent.
Waddells (Stratford Steel Equipment) Ltd., Stratford Works, Millmarsh Lane, Brimsdown, Enfield, Middlesex.

Shorter Communication

4th International Congress on Archives, Stockholm, 17-20 August, 1960

The 4th International Congress on Archives opened on Wednesday, 17th August, in the Riddarhuset—the House of the Nobility—in Stockholm. Sir David Evans, Keeper of the Records and Vice-President of the International Council on Archives, presided, and addresses of welcome to the assembled members of the Congress were given by the Swedish Minister of Education, Dr. Ingvar Andersson, State Archivist of Sweden, and M. J. Fino of the Secretariat of UNESCO. Perhaps no pleasanter and more appropriate place for an opening session could have been chosen than the Chamber of the Riddarhuset with over 2000 plaques around its walls bearing the arms of the noble families of Sweden.

From the Riddarhuset, the assembled company moved to the Bernadotte Library in the Royal Palace nearby to view the exhibition staged there, by gracious permission of His Majesty King Gustav VI Adolf, by the National Archives of Sweden. The theme of the exhibition was twofold, the history and present status of the Public Archives in Sweden, and Sweden and the World, both admirably presented, the latter flattering delegates from every country represented at the Congress by the display of at least one item relating to the viewer's native land.

The first working session of the Congress was held on the afternoon of 17th August in the Börssalen, the magnificent assembly hall of the Exchange and meeting place of the Swedish Academy. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Leopold Sandri of the Italian State Archives, the meeting considered the report presented by M. Etienne Sabbe, Archivist General of the Kingdom of Belgium, on *State Archives and their Organisation*. Since the acts of the Congress will be published separately and since these will contain both the reports and the ensuing discussions, it is not proposed to attempt to reproduce here the substance of either, but to leave any reflections on the content of the discussions to another day. However, one reflection on this three and a half hour session may not be out of place, and it is made without prejudice and without intent to offend either the organisers of the Congress or the translators (who did an excellent job of work under trying conditions). The experience of this and succeeding working sessions showed the absolute necessity of providing simultaneous translation facilities which, I understand, so smoothed the way at the 3rd Congress in Florence. The delivery of a speech in one language and its subsequent translation into another—sometimes, if a speaker used a language not amongst the four officially recognised, yet again into a third—more than doubled the length of the proceedings.

In the evening of this first day of the Congress members were transported from the centre of Stockholm to the royal palace of Drottningholm, where in the delightful 18th century opera house, built by Queen Lovisa Ulrika in 1766 as an annexe to this summer palace of the Swedish royal family, they were entertained by a performance of Pergolesi's light opera *Il Maestro di Musica*. The original atmosphere, settings and costume of the period of foundation have been retained and the whole visit was a charming oasis amid the hurly-burly of business.

Thursday, 18th August, began early with the second working session of the Congress in the Börssalen at 9.30 a.m. This was devoted to the developments in the technical aspects of archival work—new materials, equipment, techniques—since 1950 and the meeting had before it three reports for consideration and discussion. Dr. Johannes Papritz, Director of the State Archives at Marburg, Federal Germany, official *rapporteur* at this Session, presented a comprehensive report in which his factual discussion of the present position as regards lamination was perhaps the most immediately interesting part. To Dr. Papritz' report were added detailed reports on developments in the Americas, presented by Mr. Robert H. Bahmer, Deputy Archivist of the United States; and in the U.S.S.R. and in the Peoples' Democratic Republics of Eastern Europe by M. G. A. Belov, Chief of the Central State Archives of the U.S.S.R. Under the presidency, first, of M. Charles Braibant, former Director General of the Archives of France and Honorary President of the International Council on Archives, and then of M. André Chamson, Director General of the Archives of France, the rules of debate were more forcefully interpreted. At this session, Miss E. D. Mercer, as Secretary of the Technical Committee of the Society of Archivists, delivered a report on the experiments conducted by the Committee into atmospheric pollution and the use of Congo red as an indicator of acidity in paper and other materials, and invited the co-operation of archivists elsewhere in extending the data so far collected in these experiments. The response to this invitation and comments made to myself by various people showed that these experiments had aroused considerable interest.

The final working session began at 10 a.m. on Friday, 19th August, in the Börssalen under the presidency of Dr. Herman Hardenberg, Archivist-General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and was devoted to consideration of a report by M. Robert Marquant of the French National Archives on archives and modern economic and social research. Immediately following the last working session, the formal closing session of the Congress under the direction of Sir David Evans, was held at which, amongst other things, the announcement was made of the election by the Executive Committee of the International Council on Archives, of Dr. Ingvar Andersson as President of the Council until the next Congress, which will be held in Brussels in 1964.

In the afternoon two alternative tours of the surroundings of Stockholm and of archival installations in the city were offered. Those who chose the latter saw first the Royal Military Record Office, where the archives of the armed services are held and admirably administered by Dr. Bertil Broome, Royal Military Archivist, and his colleagues, of whom some are known to English archivists as a result of their work for the *Guide to Sources for Swedish History in the U.K.* From there, the party proceeded to the newly opened City Archives of Stockholm, where they could reflect with admiration and no little envy, on how for a mere £100,000, a fine repository, aesthetically pleasing and technically adequate, could be built in and above a large hole, blasted out of the granite.

Saturday was devoted to an extended tour, by way of Sigtuna, an early capital of Sweden, with a town hall no bigger than many an English parish hall, to Skokloster, a 17th century castle built by Marshal Carl Gustav Wrangel, and on to the University city of Uppsala. Here visits were paid to the Cathedral, a 13th century foundation, subsequently completely rebuilt at least twice, to the Castle and Provincial Archives and to the University Library.

Such was the Congress proper and those who attended would, I am sure, echo my grateful thanks to our Swedish colleagues, who did so much to ensure an interesting, entertaining and worthwhile visit. One now looks forward to 1964 in Brussels.

Of the various marginal meetings held in conjunction with the Congress, more detailed reports will be made elsewhere and more discussion will ensue from the results of the meetings. Of the General Assembly of the International Council on Archives, the principal domestic concern is the news that the Society has been elected to membership of the Council. The newly established Sigillographic Commission, with plans for an attempt to standardise cataloguing of seals and for the dissemination of technical information on the moulding and repair of seals and suggestions for exchanges of seal casts, bids fair to produce work of real value. The part to be played by this country in producing part of the *Guide to Sources for the History of Latin America* in European archives is still to be settled. Two fruitful meetings of editors and others concerned in the publication of archival journals should ultimately lead to increased co-operation and exchange of information and of the journals themselves between various countries. The committee on terminology held two meetings at Stockholm and made further progress towards the production of its international glossary of terminology.

PETER WALNE.

Notes and News

FORMATION OF A MODERN RECORDS SECTION AT THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

The organisation of Modern Records within the Public Record Office has recently been strengthened by the creation of a Modern Records Section, whose function is to give special attention to the problems of valuation, arrangement and listing of Departmental records of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It operates as part of the Records Services and Publications Division, which, it may be mentioned, is concerned with public records after their transfer to the Public Record Office, in contrast to the Records Administration Division whose responsibilities are confined to records before transfer. The new section has a complement of six officers, of whom two are in the Assistant Keeper grade. It is responsible for the revision of existing means of reference to records already in the Public Record Office and for the provision and review of guides and supplementary means of reference to such records. At the same time it advises Departments on the classification, arrangement and listing of records selected for preservation, before their transfer to the Public Record Office, and in these matters maintains a close liaison with the Records Administration Division. It is also responsible for the continuous review and consideration of the value of Departmental records of later date than 1800 already transferred to the Public Record Office. Finally, its advice is available to the Records

Administration Division, when required, on the guidance to be given to Departments in the selection of records for preservation, particularly in the application of the historical criterion at the second review; and it is represented on the committee which decides on the treatment of 'particular instance papers'.

J. R. EDE,
Public Record Office.

Historic Parliamentary Documents. In October 1960 H.M. Stationery Office published, on behalf of the House of Lord Record Office, 7 reproductions of Parliamentary records, and an illustrated booklet entitled *Historic Parliamentary Documents in the Palace of Westminster*. Six of the reproductions are on postcards, costing 4d. each. They illustrate, respectively, Tudor Royal signatures; the Commons Journal of 1621 from which James I tore out the House's Declaration; the Clerk's contemporary record of the attempted arrest of the Five Members; the Journal entry of Cromwell's Dissolution of the Rump; Richard Lovelace's Petition from prison of 1642; and a superb portrait of Charles I from the Earl of Banbury's Patent of Nobility of 1627. These documents derive in equal proportions from the records of the Upper and of the Lower Houses. The seventh, a leaflet (costing 6d.), reproduces Charles I's Death Warrant, a document which has for three centuries been in the custody of the Lords, and since 1851 has been on continuous display in the Lords' Library, and a constant object of public interest. The 'Explanatory Note' in the leaflet recalls the dramatic history of the signing of the warrant, and shows how this can be detected from various erasures and corrections in the text of the document itself.

The Parliamentary records so far mentioned are entirely XVIIth century in origin—understandably, perhaps, in view of the crucial nature of Parliamentary history during that century. The final Record Office publication, however, a booklet of some 20 pages, ranges more widely. It includes, besides a brief text describing the records at Westminster, reproductions of 15 documents as various as, for instance, the record of the passing of the Act of Uniformity of 1549; George Stephenson's Plan for the Stockton and Darlington Railway of 1823; and a Royal Commission of 1959. The booklet costs 2s. 6d., and together with the reproductions may be obtained through any bookseller.

Four Public Lambeth Palace lectures were delivered between 12 October and 2 November 1960 on certain aspects of the *Mediaeval Records of the Archbishops of Canterbury*. The lecturers and their subjects were: Dr. Irene J. Churchill, formerly librarian-archivist at Lambeth Palace Library, 'Introduction to the Archbishops' Registers'; Canon E. W. Kemp, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, 'Records of Convocation'; Professor E. F. Jacob, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, 'The Archbishops' testamentary jurisdiction'; and Dr. F. R. H. Du Boulay, Reader in Mediaeval History in the University of London, 'The Archbishop as territorial magnate'. We understand that it is intended to publish the entire course of lectures in book form, the publication to be undertaken probably by the Faith Press, London.

The Essex Record Office will commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of Queen Elizabeth I's visit to Ingatestone Hall by an exhibition on Elizabethan Essex (April 25th–October 7th; Tuesdays to Saturdays inclusive). Original records, supplemented by portraits, prints, maps, photographs and a limited number of solid objects, will reconstruct the topographical appearance of the county four hundred years ago and will recall the people of Elizabethan Essex—what they were like in appearance and character; the houses in which they lived; their work and social life; how they were educated and governed; their beliefs and superstitions. There will be sections on the Queen herself and her Progresses through Essex and on the Elizabethan Petres: Sir William, the Tudor Secretary and his son John, who became the first Lord Petre.

There will also be special lectures, mainly at Chelmsford, and recitals of Elizabethan music. The lecturers will include eminent authorities on the Elizabethan age; Sir John Neale, Professor Hugh Trevor Roper, Professor J. Hurstfield and Mr. Thurston Dart.

A visit to Ingatestone Hall and the exhibition is to be included in the programme for the Society's Annual Conference to be held at Chelmsford on May 5th and 6th, 1961.

Salisbury Diocesan Archives. Since Monday 10th October 1960 a senior member of the staff of the Wiltshire County Council's Record Office has worked full-time at the Salisbury Diocesan Record Office established at the Wren Hall in the Close, Salisbury. This marks the successful

outcome of negotiations between the Bishop of Salisbury, the Diocesan Registrar, the Diocesan Board of Finance, the Dean and Chapter, the County Council and the Pilgrim Trust, which has made a generous grant of £3,000 to initiate the scheme. Much has already been done on a voluntary basis to make the diocesan and archidiaconal records more accessible, in particular by Dr. A. E. J. Hollaender of the Guildhall Library and by Mrs. A. J. Collins, whose services are greatly appreciated. The work will now be continued under the direction of the County Archivist as Diocesan Archivist and the facilities in the County Record Office at County Hall in Trowbridge for the repair of documents and for their reproduction by photographic means will become available also to the record office at Wren Hall. Those wishing to use the records there in future should write to the Assistant Diocesan Archivist at Wren Hall, The Close, Salisbury.

Somerset Record Office Extension. The County Council has agreed to the building of the second phase of the Somerset Record Office at a cost of £5,000. An extension to the south wing will provide accommodation for repairs and binding (about 500 sq. ft.), and dark-room facilities. At the same time the north wing, which consists of the Orchard Wyndham Research Room, will be extended to include a room for the storage of display equipment, empty document containers, the stacking chairs needed for lecture purposes, and other "non-document" stores. All the display equipment is stored and transported on trolleys, which will fit into recesses provided in the racking of the new room. The display-case trolleys are equipped with rollers instead of solid shelves, to permit easy withdrawal and replacement of the heavy units.

The Worcestershire Record Office recently acquired a set of prescription books from the old established firm of Anderson and Virgo in Worcester. These consist of some 80 volumes dating from about 1805 to 1913 and contain a rich variety of the remedies prescribed by medical practitioners for over a century. They were noticed by the Archivist when he visited the shop, and their sudden relegation to an attic during some alterations caused him to negotiate successfully for their preservation in the Record Office. The firm think these books may be the oldest set outside London. Though recipes have often been found in private accumulations this is something new to the Worcestershire Office.

The Use of Santobrite. Ever since, in 1949, the chemical sodium pentachlorophenate (commercially sold as 'Santobrite') was introduced as a fungicide at the House of Lords Record Office on the advice of a powerful group of scientists, that office has received many enquiries from other record offices, and from libraries, concerning the most effective ways of using the substance. A summary of the practice followed at the House of Lords was included in that office's *Report* for 1959, and this has now been separately duplicated, and is available *gratis*, on application to the Clerk of the Records at the House of Lords, London, S.W.1.

BOOK OF KELLS EXHIBITION

This exhibition, which was opened by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres on January 11th and closed on March 5th, was held at the Royal Academy, Burlington House, as part of the campaign to raise funds for the desperately-needed extension to the Library of Trinity College,

Dublin. For this reason alone the exhibition would have been worth the half-crown entrance fee, but the fact that the St. Matthew's Gospel from the *Book of Kells* was on show and alongside it the *Book of Lindisfarne*, loaned by the Trustees of the British Museum, made it unique in the

history of manuscript exhibitions. The decision to include the *Book of Kells* was made only after consultation with the Irish Government and with ministerial approval. It has been in the Library of Trinity College for three centuries and has never before been on exhibition outside it. The addition of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* to the exhibition afforded scholars the first opportunity in history to make direct comparisons between the two manuscripts. It is unnecessary here to comment critically on either of these celebrated examples of early mediaeval monastic art except to say that, artistically, neither seems to lose by comparison with the other. To supplement the manuscripts, Mr. Alan Irvine, the exhibition organiser, used large photographic details from the *Book of Kells*. The inclusion of the *Books of Durrow*, *Duma* and *Armagh* in the exhibition made it particularly rich and important both in biblical manuscripts and in examples of Celtic art.

Among other important manuscripts from Trinity's collection seen in London was the *Book of St. Albans* containing three different accounts of the life of St. Alban written and illustrated mostly by Matthew Paris and a leaf from the *Book of Leinster*, the second oldest manuscript in Irish, containing tales, poems and genealogies. Among more modern manuscripts, which in any other exhibition might have taken a higher place, were William Bullock's *Lute book* (16th century) containing the tune of 'Greensleeves', a fragment of Swift's Autobiography and letters of the play-

wright Synge and Oscar Wilde. An interesting item was the signature of Oliver Goldsmith on a pane of glass, unfortunately broken when it was being removed from the rooms he had occupied at the College when the building was about to be pulled down in 1837.

To a most attractively designed and arranged exhibition which successfully overcame the many difficulties presented by the Academy's unsuitably large rooms were added chapel plate, prints, plans, photographs and portraits, a noteworthy example of the last being a portrait, attributed to Marc Gheeraerts, of Queen Elizabeth I, the foundress of the College.

To an exhibition containing some of the world's most famous manuscripts, portraits, prints, photographs, plans and chapel plate were added, making it truly representative of the College as a whole. Few failed to understand the message.

A series of lectures arranged in connection with the exhibition and delivered at Burlington House included Professor A. A. Luce, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin: 'The Gospel-books of Colum Cille: the *Book of Durrow* and the *Book of Kells*'; Mr. R. L. S. Bruce Mitford, Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities in the British Museum: 'The Gospels of Lindisfarne'; and Mr. Roger Powell: 'The binding of the *Book of Kells*'.

ANTONIA BUNCH

Reviews

THE EXCAVATIONS AT DURA-EUROPOS, FINAL REPORT V, PART I: THE PARCHMENTS AND PAPYRI.

By C. Bradford Welles, Robert O. Fink, and J. Frank Gilliam. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1959. xxviii + 457 pp., 71 pls. (London: Oxford University Press. £12.)

The scope and quantity of the material yielded by the excavations of Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters have already been outlined in the Preliminary Reports published since 1922; the picture is now to be completed by the publication of eight Final Reports, of which IV (in four parts), VI, and one part of VIII have so far appeared. IV dealt with pottery, textiles, lamps and bronzes, VI with coins, VIII/i with the synagogue; Final Report V contains all the parchments and papyri discovered on the site, except for the tiny fragments of which it has not yet been possible to make sense. It is a magnificent volume in every respect, to the production of which the editors, publishers, and printers (J. J. Augustin of Glückstadt) have devoted all possible thought and care. For Professor Bradford Welles, the senior editor of this Report, it has been a labour of love for many years, and to him in particular must go the credit for having presented so full and learned an account of the evidence. Most of the texts are in Greek, the majority of the others in Latin and a few in Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic and Iranian—the last having been edited by W. B. Hennings. There is a detailed introduction of 60-odd pages on the history of Dura, its law and its garrison; on the language, palaeography, and onomastic of the documents; a concordance of the texts; the usual list of conventional signs and indices; and the usefulness of the volume is further augmented by a rich selection of plates arranged in order of the hands illustrated. The texts are accompanied by translations and copious discussions with references to the publications which have been already devoted to them and to the problems raised.

Not the least interesting feature of the volume is the information which it gives about the archives of Dura and the system of registration employed there. A civic record office may be attested as early as 116 B.C. in the Seleucid period of its occupation, and a central office was certainly the depository for land surveys and agreements in its first two centuries. In the Parthian period documents were drawn up through the royal agents and were witnessed by the royal judges and president and collector of fines; at the same time there was a separate record office through which they might be renewed. The Roman period saw a considerable resurgence of Graeco-Roman institutions: the general-president witnesses all documents and gives technical advice in business settlements; there is a registry office, three of its officials appearing beside the general-president as witnesses of legal documents, and an official record is kept of landholdings. Three of the parchments are identified as fragments of registry rolls preserving the text of legal documents in the manner known to us from Egypt, and were probably complete copies except for the dating formulae. Nor are the entries in these rolls confined to documents drawn up by the registry; indeed the editors reach the tentative conclusion that private legal business was transacted and documented in the royal court of Dura in the Parthian period, and in the official registry thereafter, as it had probably been in the Seleucid period before, thus conforming to Greek usage everywhere.

The legal documents are always double, the text being copied twice on the same sheet; the upper version was then fastened and shut, the lower, reinforced by the signatures of principals and witnesses, left open for perusal; both were written by the same scribe, the lower first, the upper being fitted into the remaining space in a smaller hand, often in the later period reduced to a brief notation; the treatment of papyri differed from that accorded to parchments in certain

particulars, and both are described in detail with illustrations. The documents embody an act or declaration, expressed in the third person of the aorist tense, and the background is presented as a statement of the contracting parties. It is the act or declaration itself which is witnessed by witnesses possibly semi-official in character and normally three in number, though in some instances the application of the witnesses' seal to the upper version, or their names written on the verso, also attest the integrity of the document. The documents were then signed by principals and witnesses, the former probably testifying in summary that they had presented the protocol before the proper official and had had a copy entered in the registry rolls, and finally expressing their consent to the transaction as recorded.

In general the law of Dura and the method of its registration of official and private business, though adapting themselves to changing economic and social, not to say political, conditions as well as to specific legislation, remained Greek in spirit throughout their history, and even the Syriac document of sale, while deriving its mode of expression from Aramaic and Hebraic documents, does not differ in its provisions from our known Greek parallels. Even the institution of peonage, probably Mesopotamian in origin, assumes a Greek legal form, and only one document in the volume seems to be purely Roman in form, and that is written in Latin. Space does not permit a detailed account here of the archives of the Roman garrison, but these too contain much that will be of interest to readers of this *Journal*.

B. R. REES

THE SIBTON ABBEY ESTATES, SELECT DOCUMENTS 1325-1509. Edited by A. H. Denney. Suffolk Record Society Publications vol. 2. The Society, 1960. 172 pp. (including sketch map).

The documents of the Cistercian abbey of Sibton which Mr. Denney has edited in an extended Latin text are: extents of abbey property in 1325; part of a rental of 1328; a complete rental of 1484, with additions from another of 1492; the abbey bursar's account for the year ending Michaelmas 1364; abbey accounts for the year 1509. The 1364 account comes from an abbey register now British Museum Additional MS. 34560; the rest are from abbey records now deposited in the Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office by the Scrivener family, who have held Sibton manor since 1610. Judging from the text of Add. MS. 34560 the texts are basically sound, especially in figures, though sometimes careless in small details. Thus the first marginal heading on p. 111 should be *Redditus assise*, not *Arreragia*, and the second paragraph should begin *De forinsecis redditibus*, not *Forinseci redditus*; on p. 116 the folio should be 74r, not 74v (and vice versa on p. 117), and the names Greene, le Beche, Campesse and Hesingham should be Grene, la Beche, Caumpesse and Hefingham (in the index, p. 156, Hesingham should be deleted and its reference added to Hevingham); on pp. 120-1 the names Undirwood, le Southere and Swan should be Undirwode, le Soutere and Swon.

The documents themselves, and the larger series from which they come, are fully described in the introduction; though the remark (p. 22) that the distinguished antiquary Thomas Martin knew of but could not trace a successor volume to Add. MS. 34560 is at variance with Martin's own remark, at the end of the latter volume, that the other was in Mr. Scrivener's library at Sibton: "I have seen the Book. 'tis on vellom, stitch'd", etc. The editor ably discusses the documents' main features, with natural emphasis on the administration of the abbey and its estates and on their agriculture. Four appendixes give respectively: an analysis of the acreages attached to the six granges in the 1325 extents; summary details of the matter in the 1328 rental that is left out of the text; and analyses of the accounts of 1363-72 and of 1509. A number of the estates of 1484 can be traced, at least in embryo, in the records of 1325-8; it is a pity that the editor was not given space, from his knowledge of these and of the unpublished records (which apparently include many deeds), to annotate the 1484 rental with reference to the relevant parts of the documents of 1325-8, especially since the matter given from these is confined largely to the estates in Sibton itself and in the neighbouring parishes of Peasenhall, Rendham and Yoxford. The reader in even the best equipped library will feel the need for a much more detailed map than is available for the district about the abbey. Had the editor attempted a sketch map of this sort, even if some of its detail had to be conjectural, it would have been more useful than the sketch map provided, which gives the location of abbey rents in Norfolk and Suffolk; for the places in this map can all be readily found in maps in standard county atlases or even humbler works like Methuen's Red Guides, and nine places listed on p. 149 from which rents were due are not shown on it.

Apart from such shortcomings, the introduction, texts and appendixes are valuable contributions to our knowledge of religious houses, of estate management and agriculture, and of the local history of this part of east Suffolk, between the 14th century and the Dissolution. One would congratulate editor and Society unreservedly on a most useful volume were not the indexes deplorably bad, in construction and execution. There are three: Places and Subjects; Persons (surnames only); Field and Estate Names. The perfunctory range of subject headings, said to have been reduced to a minimum for reasons of economy, ignores some major topics in extents and rentals, and fails utterly to guide one to the rich variety of matter in the 1364 accounts. It seems designed solely for the agricultural and monastic historian, yet it is doubtful if it will satisfy the least exacting of these and certain that it will satisfy no one else. Thus, many members of the house are mentioned in introduction and texts but there is no reference 'Monks' to help one find them; the subcellarer is several times mentioned (pp. 42, 54, 68) but he does not figure in the index. Moreover, even for such headings as are given the references are not exhaustive; a cursory reading shows references on pp. 133 and 128 to the bursar and on pp. 115-6, 120-1, 123-7 and 152-3 to the cellarer, which are not indexed; similarly the only reference to underwood carries one to the introduction, though it occurs in the texts on pp. 56, 64, 106, 114. Additions, at least doubling or trebling the page references, could be made to most of the seventy-odd subjects given. Anyone making serious use of the work will need to construct his own subject index. Adequate subject indexing may present difficulties to a local Record Society, but persons and places are the backbone of local history and here they are in not better plight. Most of the places in the Place Index are parishes, but the county of those lying outside Suffolk is not indicated, nor are the parishes of non-parochial places given. The Field and Estate Names are not identified with their parishes, nor is any indication given of those which survive in modern forms. The allocation of places between the two indexes may be arbitrary and incomplete. Thus, on p. 134 the subordinate manors (apparently all in Rendham) of Vyrleys, Hurtes and Berneys are mentioned in successive entries. Hurtes is indexed under Places, Vyrleys under Estates and this reference to Berneys is not given in either index.

Moreover, the division between Persons and Estates is unhelpful. Many 14th century tenants, who appear under Persons, had disappeared by the 15th century but left their family names attached to holdings which appear under Estates. A unified index would have greatly aided the path of local historians, especially since, as we have remarked, the editor does not fully explore the relationships between the holdings of 1325-8 and 1484. When one moves from the construction of the indexes to their execution one finds repeated failures to index names or to give complete page references. A great part of the abbey's lands lay in Sibton and four neighbouring parishes. Of these, Sibton itself (apart from its granges and Sibton Green), Peasenhall and Yoxford are not indexed at all; Linstead (apart from its grange) is indexed incompletely; only Rendham's references are tolerably exhaustive. Persons mentioned in the paragraph *Curialitates*, on pp. 124-5, include: Prodhorne, W. Carpenter, Robert Reymer, Sir Nicholas Gernoun, Richard Ewelle, Quynce, the steward and Adam the underbailiff of the duke of Lancaster and the underbailiff of the [Ely liberties of] St. Etheldreda. None are indexed. None of the indexes tell one that on p. 134 there are references to Arthur Hopton and (two) to the earl of Surrey, to an estate called Northernes (relic of a 14th century family that appears under Persons) and (two) to a mill called Isted, and to the prior and honor of Eye. Similar omissions, of names or page references, could be cited from many other pages of the text, affecting all three indexes. The appendixes introduce a fresh difficulty, for while the references to four granges on p. 148, five places on p. 149 and all four on pp. 152-3 are not indexed, over thirty of the places on p. 149 are wrongly indexed not to that page but to p. 151 (which contains only subjects and figures). It may be added that references to dignitaries and officials are concealed under Places, so that Norwich comprehends references to the place, the bishop, his marshal and his registrar; and that Persons and Field and Estate names are indexed in alphabetical order of their forms, without any cross references to (sometimes widely) separated variants.

It is difficult to believe that the learned officers and council of the Society think that indexes should be constructed and executed as these have been. One would rather believe that, when the rest of the work had been set up and passed, mounting costs may have led to the editor being told to make his indexes as brief, and as quickly, as possible—with unhappy results. It has been distasteful to have had to stigmatize matter produced by a young Society whom all wish well, and by an editor who, from his country parsonage, has done much that is excellent and in doing it shown a mastery, and love, of his subject. But to print a Latin text with the typographically expensive luxury of double shoulder headings and then to provide it with indexes of this sort shows a false sense of values. The object of printing texts or calendars of documents is to make their contents readily available; unless they are indexed with reasonable accuracy and adequacy this object is not achieved. There are many examples among the recent publications of local Record Societies of good indexes that have not added unreasonably to the cost of the work.

C. A. F. MEEKINGS

THOMAS WOTTON'S LETTER BOOK, 1574-1586. Edited by G. Eland. London, Oxford University Press, 1960. xxi + 75 pp. 16s.

The Letter Book, now edited for the first time by Mr. Eland, was discovered among the family papers of Mr. Francis Tyrwhitt-Drake, in whose family it has been preserved since its acquisition through marriage in the seventeenth century. None of the entries is in the hand of Thomas Wotton, but all are copies by an *amanuensis* who recorded the correspondence conducted by his master over a period of twelve years until the year before Wotton's death in 1587.

Mr. Eland contributes an introduction in which he establishes with reasonable certainty the ownership of the book since it left Thomas Wotton's custody, and provides also in the text useful elucidation of some of the more obscure allusions and personalities referred to in the letters.

Thomas Wotton, the father of his more famous son, Sir Henry Wotton, emerges as a man of principle much concerned with the lot of his fellow men. Those to whom his correspondence is addressed include many of the most eminent men of his age and the volume now published makes a useful contribution to the social history of the Elizabethan period.

The book owes its appearance to the generosity of the Marc Fitch Fund.

JOHN BROMLEY

TRADESMEN IN EARLY-STUART WILTSHIRE: A MISCELLANY. Edited by N. J. Williams. Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Records Branch, vol. xv, 1960 for 1959. xxii + 146 pp. 45s.

In its latest volume the Records Branch of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society maintains its high standards, both in the quality of its editing and in the interest of the texts chosen for publication. In it, Dr. Williams introduces four types of document from the Public Records, each of which is the first of its kind to be published by a local society. The theme which connects them is the light they throw on Wiltshire tradesmen of the early seventeenth century, and they are of particular interest as specimens of the information that the Public Records can provide from a period for which, in many counties, the existence of Quarter Sessions records tends to divert the attention of local historians away from the resources of Chancery Lane.

The documents published are: (i) the records of fines levied in Wiltshire by the Clerk of the Market of the King's Household, in 1607, mostly on tradesmen who overcharged or who used false weights and measures; (ii) the recognizances that butchers, innkeepers and others had to enter into, in 1620, to see that the Lenten fast was observed; (iii) entries of cases from Wiltshire brought into the Court of the Exchequer by common informers in James I's reign, nearly all concerning trading offences, particularly that of engrossing—buying corn or other goods for direct resale at a profit; (iv) the list of persons licensed to sell tobacco in the county in 1637. None of the records is printed in full; what Dr. Williams gives us are English abstracts of the originals, with a few specimen documents calendared in greater detail. Archivists may perhaps regret that only in the case of the recognizances is an example transcribed in full in the original Latin, but most users of the book will find that it presents clearly and unambiguously all the information they need.

The accuracy and care with which the documents have been edited are beyond question. In an admirable short introduction Dr. Williams describes the context of each type of document, and mentions other similar classes of Public Records—including an intriguing survey made in 1686 of the number of beds available in inns in each town. There are full indexes of persons, places and subjects, the last containing a useful index to the many different classes of tradesman mentioned in the volume. Finally, it should be mentioned that two branches of the Imperial Tobacco Company contributed towards the cost of producing the book; this may be taken as a symptom of the growing interest which manufacturing firms seem to be taking in industrial and local history, a development which augurs well for the future.

P. D. A. HARVEY

KENTISH SOURCES. II. KENT AND THE CIVIL WAR. Edited by Elizabeth Melling. Maidstone, Kent County Council, 1960. 61 pp., illus. 5s. od.

The Kent County Archives Office set a very high standard with its first booklet in the Kentish Sources series, and in the second one this has been well maintained. Miss Melling has shown rather more imagination in her choice of subject than did the numerous bodies and institutions who looked at the calendar last year for inspiration and decided to celebrate the Restoration. By selecting documents to illustrate the course of the whole Civil War in Kent, she has made possible a greater understanding of the Restoration itself.

There seems little doubt concerning the real attitude of the people of Kent during the Civil War period. As it is pointed out in the introduction, they twice played a part of some importance in national affairs at this time—in the spring of 1642, when a petition with Royalist leanings from the Kentish gentry produced a sharp reaction from Parliament, which aggravated the rapidly worsening situation between the rival parties, and in 1648 when discontent in the county gave rise to another petition and, eventually, to armed uprising. Grievances existed before the Civil War, and the Kentish people, like any other sturdy individualists, were not slow to express their dissatisfaction with the country's religious policy and the levy of ship money; but the county gentry, who generally speaking had the support of the people, were moderates in opinion, and had no desire for radical changes, though they objected to the increasing high-handedness of Parliament.

Though for the most part the main military campaigns of the Civil War took place outside Kent, there are, in the County Records, many references to Kentish people of all ranks in the armies of both sides. Things went hardly for the Royalists who stayed at home. Their estates were sequestered, their houses raided, their places in local administration, if any, taken from them and given to adherents of the Parliamentary cause. The close of the first Civil War was really only the beginning of a temporary lull to which unrest and Royalist intrigue put an end, by armed revolt, in 1648. The county became more involved in the second Civil War which ensued and there was a battle at Maidstone and sieges at several of the castles around the coast; but the Parliamentary forces effectively subdued the rising and captured the castles at Dover, Walmer, Deal and Sandown, in the space of three months.

During the Interregnum, Royalist activity in Kent was generally limited to plotting and intrigue, apart from some action by privateers off the coast. Some of the sequestered Royalists, notably John, second Earl of Thanet, saw fit to co-operate with the new regime, and the extracts from the records relating to the misfortunes of the Filmer family during the first Civil War show how great must have been the temptation to conform.

With the approach of the Restoration the country gentry and others with Royalist sympathies began to take over the control of affairs, and, as Kent stood between the capital and the Continent, it was in Kent that the King landed on his return. The tables were rapidly turned on the Parliament supporters, who in their turn were removed from office or deprived of their pensions. Anglicanism was the only form of religious worship permitted, non-conformist meetings being suspected centres of sedition.

The documents selected to illustrate the progress of the Civil War begin with a warrant of 1636 to search the house of a "daungerous scismaticall recusant" and a letter from a non-conformist to a champion of his cause in Parliament. They are followed by an entry in the Sandwich Year Book, in 1639, relating to a meeting at Maidstone concerning the unpopular tax of Ship Money and an apparently exorbitant demand by the authorities. Next comes a memorandum reporting the arrival of warrants for the arrest of the Five Members at Sandwich in 1642 and the momentous Kentish Petition of the same year.

The Petition begins by calling for the implementation of the laws against Papists and the confirmation of the reformed religion, going on to protest against the instigators of "heresie, schisme, prophane, libertinisme, anabatisme, atheisme". There follows a plea for better government, ecclesiastical, civil and military, and an appeal for the preservation of the liberty of the subject. Clause 14 has a curiously modern ring—it urges improvement of the overseas trade balance so that "the native comodities of this kingdome may have a quick vent".

Strained relations between the two factions are illustrated by a letter complaining of outrages by the Cavaliers and a series of letters concerning the misfortunes of the Royalist Filmer family. The onset of the war brings appeals for pensions and, in 1648, the submission of the Corporation of Sandwich to Colonel Fairfax's army. Letters written during the Interregnum refer to Cavalier activities, the war at sea with the Dutch and a new Constitution. As suspicion of Royalist activity mounted the registration of the movements of Royalist sympathisers became necessary, and a form of registration is shown. The happy note of celebration and re-establishment, on which the sequence of extracts might have ended at the Restoration, is somewhat marred by one or two items concerning the suppression of non-conformity.

The Editor has wisely modified the original form of the documents published in order to make them more easily read, and reproduced a few of them to show how they appear in the records. To make the reproductions as successful as they are must have been a severe test of the blockmaker's art. The text would have looked better on white paper than on the rather heavy cream paper which has been used; apart from this purely physical fault, *Kent and the Civil War* is an excellent publication and well worthy of its predecessor in the Kentish Sources series.

JAMES L. HOWGEO

INDIAN RECORD SERIES. BROWNE CORRESPONDENCE. Edited by Krishna Dayal Barghava. Published for the National Archives of India. Delhi, 1960. xii+363 pp. Map.

This is the second volume to be published by the National Archives of India under Scheme II of its publication programme. It consists of the complete official correspondence of Major James Browne between 1782 and 1785, while at the Court of Shah Alam at Delhi, as the personal agent of Warren Hastings, together with his correspondence, after Hastings's resignation, with Sir John MacPherson by whom he was recalled.

It begins with Warren Hastings's instructions dated 20 August 1782, in which the personal and confidential nature of Browne's appointment was made clear.

"Having judged it expedient at this time to have a Minister at the Court of Dehly on the Part of this Government, and being desirous to avoid the *Eclat* of a publick appointment . . . I do therefore by my own separate authority, but with the knowledge of the other Members of the Board, appoint you to be my agent, and the Minister of the Government, at the Court of Dehly . . ."

It contains 147 letters, 135 of them from James Browne (a number with enclosures), 7 from Warren Hastings, 3 from John MacPherson, one from John Bristow, and one from Shah Alam to MacPherson. Browne's "Memorandum of the State of Affairs in Hindostan at the commencement of the year 1785, transmitted to Mr. Hastings" of the 10th January 1785, is printed as an Appendix. Excellent notes and a short but useful introduction are added, based on printed and MS. sources, the latter including two contemporary MSS.—the *Ibrat-Nama* and the *Munshaat-i-Husaini*. There is a biography, a reproduction of a map of 1775 of Northern India (not very easy to read) and portraits of Shah Alam, his son Mirza Jawan Bakht, and Mahadji Sindia.

Since Browne was Warren Hastings's personal agent, his correspondence was not submitted as a whole either to the Council at Calcutta or to the Court of Directors. Copies of it were, however, made by Browne as a result of a demand from the Court of Directors on 10 December 1784. These letters are the source of the greater part of this publication (most of them taken from the volume in the Indian National Archives, but forty of them, missing there, from the India office Library in the Commonwealth Relations Office). The correspondence with Sir John MacPherson has been extracted from the Bengal Secret Department Records in the care of the Indian National Archives.

The full story of this mission is thus made available for scholars; its main facts were already known. It provides an illustration (though hardly a fortunate one) of Hastings's diplomatic methods, and it gives a detailed picture of the last sad condition of the Mughal power, and of the rise of Sindia. The non-success of the mission was due in considerable part, no doubt, to Hastings's failure to keep his agent informed of the developments of his policy, but also to Browne's own limitations. In his grasp of the complex scene in which he was called to play a part he cannot be compared, for instance, with either of the Andersons. But his letters are detailed and conscientious, and the enclosures numerous and varied. It is of interest that it was during this mission that he collected the Persian material that makes his *Indian Tracts* of 1788 of high value to historians.

LUCY S. SUTHERLAND

The Society's Chronicle

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday, 7 December, 1960, at Gresham College, Basinghall Street, London, E.C.2, by kind permission of the Gresham Committee of the Mercers' Company. Miss E. Ralph, M.A., F.S.A., retiring Chairman of the Society, opened the **Business Meeting** at 10.30 a.m., 95 members being present.

After hearing apologies for absence read by the Honorary Secretary and after confirming the minutes of the previous Annual General Meeting, the meeting then considered the Annual Report of the Council, previously circulated to all members. Miss Ralph, in presenting the report, commented briefly on the various matters dealt with, Dr. A. E. J. Hollander, Miss E. D. Mercer and Mr. G. F. Osborn commenting upon the sections dealing with the *Journal*, the Technical Committee and the grading of archivists in local government service. In the discussion on the report, some members questioned the advisability of negotiating through NALGO merely for a standard grading for assistant archivists and thought that the grading of chief archivists should also be considered. Dr. Hull explained that the present course was being followed on the advice of NALGO, whose officers had considerable experience in these matters and would have to carry on the negotiations. The fact that the Committee to consider any possible effect on archives of the work of the Local Government Boundaries Commission had not yet met was commented upon by a number of members, who felt that some statement of principles should be formulated for submission to the Commission at an early date so that some provisions could be made for archives in any final proposals submitted by the Commission. The Chairman, on behalf of the Council, agreed that the Committee should meet at an early date. The report was then adopted.

Mr. S. W. Shelton, Hon. Auditor to the Society, was re-appointed for the coming year and the Society recorded its thanks to him for his services in the past. In presenting the Annual Balance Sheet, Mr. C. E. Welch, Hon. Treasurer, informed the meeting that, at 30 September, the surplus of assets in favour of the Society was £634. 13s. 5d., an increase of some £78 over the last year, an increase in advertising revenue being chiefly responsible for this. Income tax had been paid on bank interest, but the claim was being contested. The maximum sum available for investment, as suggested at

the last Annual General Meeting, is only £100; if invested this would tie up the Society's only mobile capital and would render the Society liable to pay more income tax. Mr. D. D. M. Shorrocks suggested that the Society should start a Benevolent and Orphans Fund and this was referred to Council. The Balance Sheet was then adopted.

Miss Ralph then laid before the meeting the name of Dr. F. Hull for election as Chairman of the Society for the ensuing year, paying tribute to Dr. Hull's past services to the Society. The nomination was carried with acclamation and Dr. Hull then took the chair. His first duty was to thank the Society for the honour it had done him and he promised to serve to the best of his ability. He then paid tribute to Miss Ralph's services as Chairman for the past three years.

Dr. Hull next moved from the chair the re-election of Mr. P. Walne as Honorary Secretary, Mr. C. E. Welch as Honorary Treasurer, and Dr. Hollaender as Honorary Editor, speaking of their services to the Society and thanking them on behalf of all members. He further proposed the election of Mr. R. Sharpe France as Vice-Chairman of the Society. The nominations were unanimously accepted and agreed to.

The Honorary Secretary then announced that Miss I. Darlington and Mr. J. H. Holmes had been re-nominated to serve a term of four years on the Council and Dr. L. A. Parker had been nominated for a similar term in place of Miss M. Gollancz. There being no other nominations, these three nominees were declared elected.

The Chairman informed the meeting that invitations to visit Chelmsford for the Annual Conference, 1961, and Plymouth for the Annual Conference, 1962, had been received. After hearing some details of the programme to be arranged at Chelmsford, it was unanimously resolved to accept the invitation. Mr. Welch gave some preliminary idea of the programme for the visit to Plymouth, formal acceptance of the invitation would be made at the next Annual General Meeting.

The meeting then confirmed the appointment of the Society's representatives on other bodies, viz.:—

Council of the British Records Association

Standing Conference for Local History

NALGO Joint Consultative Committee

Library Association Archives and Manuscripts Sub-Committee

Records Preservation Section, B.R.A.

The Chairman for the time being.

Dr. F. Hull.

Mr. G. F. Osborn, Mr. J. H. Holmes.

Mr. P. Walne.

Mr. J. H. Holmes.

The Honorary Secretary was instructed to convey the thanks of the meeting to the Gresham Committee for allowing the Society to use their lecture theatre for the meeting and to thank Mr. P. E. Jones for his help in arranging this.

The question of the present position of legislation for local archives was raised from the floor by Mr. D. Charman, the Chairman replying that nothing had been heard officially about the present position, but the Council would reconsider the matter. Miss H. E. Boulton pleaded for a positive approach to publicity and public relations, suggesting an approach to the Arts Council for a grant towards the making of a film on the work of an archivist and also asking the Council to consider the question of press publicity. The Chairman suggested that this matter be referred to the Council, which was agreed to.

The meeting ended at 12.5 p.m. and was followed by the Presidential Address, which will be published in the next issue of this *Journal*.

The Discussion Meeting on Problems involved in answering postal enquiries began at 2.30 p.m.

DR. FELIX HULL (Chairman [Kent]) opened the meeting and introduced the three speakers: MR. E. H. SARGEANT (Worcester), MISS I. DARLINGTON (London County Council), and MR. R. C. JARVIS (H. M. Customs and Excise).

By way of introduction MR. SARGEANT read examples of postal queries some of which involved much detailed research, while others were almost impossible to answer. If the enquiry covered a large field he would reply giving references and brief titles and invite the enquirer to visit the Record Office. He was of the opinion that a personal visit to the Record Office was preferable. Skilled enquirers knew what they were looking for, and as they had already been supplied with references, records could be produced quickly. On the other hand many enquirers could only give a vague idea of their requirements and as archivists were working very much on their own they could not spend hours on one query. He asked, were Record Offices justified in doing other people's work? Postal queries could take up a great deal of the archivist's time which was already fully occupied with more essential tasks. In Worcester Record Office there was a great volume of enquiries, particularly genealogical. He usually referred genealogical enquiries to a professional searcher. On an average about half an hour was spent on each enquiry and no fees were asked for. If records were listed and calendared this made searches easier, but making searches reduced time available for listing and indexing. In any case protracted searches were not practicable with the staff available and any request for an increase in staff would not be favourably received.

MISS DARLINGTON said the London County Council had special problems. There were 147 members on the County Council plus co-opted members and many enquiries were received through members and their friends. London had an immense population and the area had been urbanized for a long period, therefore many people both in Britain and abroad had connections with the Metropolis. She said 371 letters had been answered in three months from the Library and Record Office—57 of these were general enquiries but over 100 were enquiries concerning living persons. The L.C.C. were custodians of the records of the Metropolitan Asylums Board and Boards of Guardians. They also held over 5,000 school registers. Enquiries came from a variety of sources: Ministries, charitable bodies, individuals. Many related to persons who had been brought up in Children's Homes or who were in Old People's Homes; others wished to prove British nationality or that they had reached a certain level of education. There was a moral obligation to answer these queries. The County Council stood in loco parentis to many of these people and the only sources of information were in their records. Some enquirers required evidence of baptism or marriage from church registers. It was a great help if the enquirer knew the exact location of the church, as there was much duplication of church names. However meagre the facts given, the Record Office must try to answer them. Members attached little value to records unless they were of practical use.

In the Library most of the enquiries were from internal sources. Letters were answered on bibliographical enquiries or on the history of London. Some enquiries were in general terms and she had saved time by writing and asking for exact requirements. Many tourists or people from the provinces who wished to have general information about London were referred to the Travel Association.

Miss Darlington had certain definite rules: not to give legal information, affidavits, certified copies from the Middlesex Land Registry or certified copies of extracts of proceedings of Boards of Guardians. Neither would she try to interpret any Acts, such as the London Building Acts. On genealogical requests she would indicate the records in her custody and either invite the enquirer to the Record Office or refer him to the Society of Genealogists. As professional searchers' charges were high, as much as 3½ guineas a day and expenses, people naturally preferred to make use of Record Office staff.

Mr. R. C. JARVIS said that as Archivist in a central authority he felt he had certain obligations. The Customs and Excise had statutory powers to extract all sorts of information from traders about trade and commerce, and therefore they recognised their obligations to the public. Information from current records about current intelligence in trade and commerce was readily available to the public, but for obvious reasons no member of the public would be allowed to inspect the records as much of the information in them was private and confidential.

As regards the historical records of the Customs and Excise, he did not feel that the volume of correspondence dealt with was perhaps quite so high as in the case of the foregoing speakers. He too dealt with the proportion of staff time to be spent on enquiries and he arranged his correspondence in an order of priorities. If the enquiry was genuine and disinterested and a matter of valuable historical research, he would give it priority over a genealogical query. He personally was prepared to devote more time to someone who was compiling a work which would add to the value of the records than to someone who was merely tracing family history for his own satisfaction. He was of the opinion that the staff in a Record Office could make a search more speedily than the outside enquirer who might need much instruction and many explanations. Expediency suggested it was often best to do the job oneself.

The Chairman then invited discussion on a number of points made by the three speakers, e.g. fees, the relationship of staff to the number of enquiries received and relationship with members of the employing authorities.

Miss J. C. SINAR (Devon) said she was willing to spend plenty of time on serious enquiries and would also indicate general sources. She usually spent about half an hour on general postal queries.

Mr. W. J. SMITH (Berkshire) queried the use of private documents to answer questions which might lead to litigation. He had had an enquiry about a piece of land which the enquirer thought might belong to his glebe. The answer had been found in private deeds deposited by the present owner of the estate. As it happened the answer was in the negative, but supposing the land in question was not in rightful ownership, would he have been justified in giving information from a private source?

Miss SINAR said the Clerk of her Council had asked a similar question and she felt that such queries should be referred to the depositor.

Mr. J. R. W. WHITFIELD (Hertford) confirmed that he would refer the applicant to the depositor.

Mr. P. A. KENNEDY (Nottingham) and Miss E. DANCE (Guildford) said it was advantageous to ask the enquirer whether he had sent the same enquiry to other offices. They often found that work was being duplicated.

Mr. G. F. OSBORN (Westminster) attached great importance to the question of public relations. He felt he was there to be of service to the ratepayers and he preferred to deal with enquiries in the Record Office rather than to refer his readers to professional searchers.

Mr. SARGEANT said that weeks of time could be spent on one enquiry. When enquiries became protracted, at what point should one stop? There must be a time limit. He did not agree with Mr. Jarvis on his classification of the importance of enquiries.

Mr. J. H. HOLMES (Essex) quoted as a sample query and as an example of Record Office co-operation, a letter passed to him by the Corporation of London Records Office. The enquirer, Wolfgang Epping of Mecklenburg, wished to know something of the history of Epping Forest and the Town of Epping as he felt his ancestors must have originated there!

Mr. F. G. EMMISON (Essex) said that in the year 1958/59 over 1,000 enquiries (excluding administrative and internal) had been received in his office. This increased to 1,500 in the year 1959/60. He had been trying to add to his staff to deal with the greater volume of work. He had given the Clerk to his Council six sample queries which ranged over a wide sphere, to indicate to him the amount of time and study spent on answering them. He felt that he had a good case for increasing the numbers of his staff and if the establishment were not increased then he would cut down on time spent in answering queries. He was of the opinion that in many cases it saved official time to answer the query rather than to invite the student to the Record Office.

Mrs. M. P. G. DRAFER (L.C.C.) stressed the value of listing all documents, by which means queries could be answered more quickly.

Miss R. A. KEEN (Church Missionary Society) had had a query from a student in Japan which had taken from three to four weeks of research to answer. In a small office this took up much valuable time and she wanted to know if there was a list of record agents prepared to do work other than genealogical research. It would certainly be of great help to her to refer queries to such agents.

Dr. HULL said that an effort had been made to compile such a list in the past and Mr. P. WALNE (Berkshire) said that the professional genealogists who advertise in the *Genealogist's Magazine* were prepared to do research on other topics. Mr. JARVIS also confirmed that the Public Record Office would probably supply the names of record searchers on request.

Miss E. D. MERCER (Middlesex) in proposing a vote of thanks to the three speakers, congratulated them on their addresses which had prompted an interesting and stimulating discussion.

The meeting terminated at 4 p.m.

Changes in the Member' List

NEW MEMBERS

U.K.

Members

NICKSON, Miss M. A. E., M.A., Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford (Essex C.C.).
SMART, R. N., M.A., The University Library, St. Andrews, Fife (University of St. Andrews).

U.K.

Associate Members

BAKER, K. H., B.A., 43 Adelaide Road, Surbiton, Surrey (Surrey C.C.).
BURDETT, Miss S. E. A., B.A., Clifton House, Bath Road, Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts C.C.).
DICKINSON, M. G., B.A., Witcomb Residential Club, Brockworth, Glos. (Gloucester City Library).
DOBLE, Comdr. D., R.N., Business Archives Council, 9 Kings Bench Walk, Temple, London, E.C.4 (Business Archives Council).
ELLIOTT, D. J., 15 The Drive, Tonbridge, Kent (Hon. Archivist: Tonbridge U.D.C.).
HOLT, K. D., B.A., Central Library, South Sherwood Street, Nottingham (Nottingham City Public Libraries).
MASSEY, A., B.A., The Flat, c/o "The Sleep Shop", Park Street, Bristol, 1 (Bristol Corporation).
NAYLOR, Miss M. A., 372 Rainham Road, Gillingham, Kent (Kent C.C.).
RATCLIFFE, Miss F. A., B.A., A.K.C., Y.W.C.A. Hostel, 15 Berkeley Square, Bristol, 8 (Bristol Corporation).
RIDDING, A. R., A.M.L.E.R., Ferranti Ltd., Moston, Manchester 10 (Ferranti Ltd.).

COMMONWEALTH

Members

BLACK, Clinton V., Archive Section, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, Jamaica (Jamaican Government).
KATHPALIA, Y. P., M.B.C., 11-A/37 Western Extension, Karol Bagh, New Delhi 5, India (Government of India).
SHARMAN, B. A., 127 Russell Terrace, Indooroopilly, Queensland (State of Queensland).
SPARROW, T. E., Reserve Bank of Australia, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia, Martin Place, Box 3947 G.P.O. (Reserve Bank of Australia).

COMMONWEALTH

Associate Members

PHILLIPS, J. G. P., B.A. (National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland).

RESIGNATIONS

ALLEN, P. N.
BEASLEY, Miss E. E., M.A.

COWE, F. M., B.A.
CURTIS, Miss E. E., M.A.
SHERCLIFF, W. H., M.A., F.L.A.

HUTTON, Mrs. S. Q., B.A.
MORRIS, Miss P. H., B.A.

AMENDMENTS

U.K.

CAMERON, Miss B. A., M.A., now Mrs. B. A. ENGLISH, M.A.
COX-JOHNSON, Miss A. L., B.A., now Mrs. A. L. SAUNDERS, B.A.
CROSS, Miss M. A., address now The Red House, Whitehill Road, Hitchin, Herts.
FARR, M. W., B.A., now M.A., F.R.Hist.S.
GRAY, T., now M.A., F.L.A.
HALL, Mrs. C. P., M.A., address now 42 Pantom Street, Cambridge.
HARRIS, Miss E., B.A., now Mrs. R. G. WALLAGE, address now Bushmound House, Wargrave Road, Twyford, Berks.
HUGHES, C. J., address now 12 Brookfield Road, Cublington, Leamington Spa.
HUTTON, B. G., B.A., now M.A., address now Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Law Courts Buildings, May St., Belfast, now employed by Ministry of Finance of Northern Ireland.
KENNEDY, Miss J. M., B.A., address now 61 Surrey Street, Norwich.
KIRBY, J. L., M.A., F.S.A., F.L.A., address now 22 Bardwell Court, Bardwell Road, Oxford.
NEWTON, S. C., B.A., now M.A., address now c/o 28 Linden Avenue, Sheffield 8.
POULTER, Mrs. M. C., B.A., address now 6 Hatton Court, Lubbock Road, Chislehurst, Kent.
SELDON, Miss G. M., B.A., now Mrs. ORMONDE, address now Flat 2, 19 Morden Road, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.
WEBB, A. N., B.A., address now Ayton, Garstang Road, Barton, Preston, Lancs.

COMMONWEALTH

SEWLAL, E., address now Archives Division, Public Relations Department, Trinidad, West Indies.

ARCHIVES

The Journal of the British Records Association

Archives Services and Smaller Repositories: a Symposium

Local Archives of Great Britain: XIX. Record Office Work in Staffordshire: by F. B. Stitt

The Publication of English Records: I. The Public Record Office: by H. C. Johnson;
II. The Historical Manuscripts Commission: by Roger Ellis

The Archives of the Royal Society of Arts, 1754-1847: by D. G. C. Allan

The Ottoman Archives: A Source for European History: by Bernard Lewis

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